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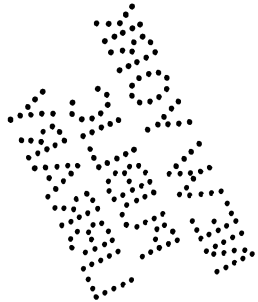

4-10-1909

SELECT TREATISES

OF

S. ATHANASIUS,

ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA,

IN CONTROVERSY WITH THE ARIANS,

TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

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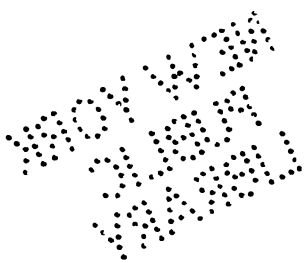

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Page 8. line 14. *for* for *read* from
15. note d. vid. p. 311, note i.
27. line 19. *for* the Word, *read* a word,
note i. line 11. *for* there be *read* He be
30. line 8. *for* which *read* whom
34. heading. *for* Synod *read* Symbol
69. line 18. from fin. *for* does *read* does not
80. note r. col. 2. and 191. heading. *for* Father *read* fathers
81. note t. circ. fin. *for* repeats *read* repents *twice*
85. and 122. *read* Germinius
87. line 8. *for* those *read* whom
91. note. col. 2. *for* Ariorum *read* Arianorum
97. fin. *for* of Him...being *read* that He...was
108. note i. *for* interpretators *read* interpreters
119. note n. col. 1. line 18. *for* the Father's *read* a father's
124. note y. fin. *for* Anomœan *read* the Anomœon
125. note. col. 1. fin. *for* the *read* that
130. line 4. *insert* been *after* have
149. margin. *for* Theb. *read* Heb.
151. line 13. *for* is *read* in
155. note f. col. 1. line 6. from fin. *for* Father *read* Son
157. note i. col. 2. *for* mentioned *read* mentions
174. line 12. from fin. *after* Grat. 30. *add* and passim.
176. line 10. *omit* certainly.
194. line 1. *for* who *read* whom
205. ref. 4. *for* μονὸς *read* μονὰς
211. note. line 7. *for* even *read* ever
col. 2. line 2. *for* statement *read* implication
220. line 6. *for* as to all such speculations concerning *read* in attributing such things to
221. note f. col. 1. *for* irreligionem *read* irreligiosam
222. circ. fin. *for* Son...He *read* son...he
223. note. *for* is to be *read* to be
239. note. *for* humiliabus *read* humiliatus
243. note. *for* did so *read* He did so
244. note k. line 6. *for* to come *read* it comes
246. note fin. *for* λόγων *read* κύριον
253. note fin. *for* as *read* in
343. line 10. *for* . B *read* ; b
397. heading. *for* Each *read* The
413. note. col. 2. init. *for* singly *read* simply
440. three times. *for* drift *read* scope
453. note. col. 1. line 25. *for* but *read* hardly more than
486. note g. col. 2. lines 3 and 6. *for* as...si *read* which...si non

In Letters and Numbers.

Page 31. note p. *for* 46. *read* 40.
81. top margin. *add* §. 6.
101. line 3. *for* clerks *read* clerks [r]
109. note m. *for* the same year *read* next year
157. note i. col. 1. line 4. *for* ref. 4. *read* ref. 5.
162. line 10. *for* A.D. 367. *read* A.D. 357.
188. ref. 4. *for* 3 *read* 4
193. ref. 5. *for* 5 *read* 4
194. ref. 2. *for* 79 *read* 179
210. note. col. 1. *for* 36. *read* 30, 20.
211. lettering of note. *for* l *read* f
217. note d. *for* g *read* z
218. note a. *for* 13. *read* 10.
256. note o. init. *for* ref. 4. *read* ref. 5.
266. ref. 2. *for* 144. *read* 244.
283. note c. fin. and 287. note g. fin. *for* h *read* i
285. ref. 2. *for* 3 *read* 4
290. ref. 1. *for* 44. *read* 43.
332. lettering of note. *read* s
378. note e. fin. *for* 67. *read* 56.
393. ref. 2. *for* 291. *read* 391.
394. line 4. from fin. and margin. *for* water *read* water [5] *and for* iii. 35. *read* [5]iii. 35.

DISCOURSE II.

☞ *In the references henceforth made to S. Athanasius's Works in the Notes and margin, the Arabic numerals stand generally for the sections as in the Benedictine Edition; hitherto* § *has been prefixed to those numerals which are indicative of sections which are to be found in this Volume.*

CHAP. XIV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; FOURTHLY, HEBREWS iii. 2.

Introduction; the *Regula Fidei* counter to an Arian sense of the text; which is not supported by the word "servant," nor by "made" which occurs in it; (how can the Judge be among the "works" which "God will bring into judgment?") nor by "faithful;" and is confuted by the immediate context, which is about Priesthood; and by the foregoing passage, which explains the word "faithful" as meaning trustworthy, as do 1. Pet. iv. fin. and other texts. On the whole *made* may safely be understood either of the divine generation or the human creation.

§. 1. 1. I DID indeed think that enough had been said already against the hollow professors[1] of Arius's madness, whether for their refutation or in the truth's behalf, to insure a cessation and repentance of their evil thoughts and words about the Saviour. They, however, for whatever reason, still do not succumb; but, as swine and dogs wallow[2] in their own vomit and their own mire, even invent new expedients[3] for their irreligion. Thus they misunderstand the passage in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*[4], and the words of the Apostle, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, and straightway[5] argue, that the Son of God is a work and a creature. But although they might have learned from what is said above, had they not utterly lost their power of apprehension, that the Son is not from nothing nor in the number of things generate at all, the Truth witnessing[6] it, (for, being God, He cannot be a

[1] ὑποκρι-τὰς, p. 127, note g.

[2] κυλιό-μενοι, Orat. iii. 16.

[3] ἐφευρέσεις Prov. 8, 22.

Heb. 3, 2.

[4] supr. p. 257. infra 19—72.

[5] ἀπλῶς

[6] vid. infra, note on 35.

Disc. II.

work, and it is impious to call Him a creature, and it is of creatures and works that we say, "out of nothing," and "it was not before its generation[1]") yet since, as if dreading to desert their own fiction, they are accustomed to allege the aforesaid passages of divine Scripture, which have a good[2] meaning, but are by them practised on, let us proceed afresh to take up the question of the sense of these, to remind the faithful, and to shew from each of these passages that they have no knowledge at all of Christianity. Were it otherwise, they would not have *shut* themselves *up in the unbelief* of the present Jews[a], but would have inquired and learned[b] that, whereas *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, in consequence, it was when at the good pleasure of the Father the Word became man, that it was said of Him, as by John, *The Word became flesh;* so by Peter, *He hath made Him Lord and Christ;*—as by means of Solomon in the Person of the Lord Himself, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works;* so by Paul, *Become so much better than the Angels*[3]; and again, *He made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant*[4]; and again, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus, who was faithful to Him that made Him*[5]. For all these texts have the same force and meaning, a religious one, declarative of the divinity of the Word, even those of them which speak humanly concerning Him, as having become the Son of man.

[1] vid. supr. p. 276. 6.

[2] p. 283, note c.

Rom. 11, 32.

John 1, 1.

John 1, 14.

Acts 2, 36.

Prov. 8, 22.

[3] Heb. 1, 4. vid. p. 257.

[4] Phil. 2, 7. p. 233.

Heb. 3, 7. *Christ Jesus*, r. t.

[5] Sent. D. 11.

2. But, though this distinction is sufficient for their refuta-

[a] *τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων*, means literally "the Jews of this day," as here and Orat. i. 8. 10. 38. Orat. ii. 1. b. iii. 28. c. But elsewhere this and similar phrases, as distinctly mean the Arians, being used in contrast to the Jews; e. g. *τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων*. In illud Omn. 5. d. *Ἰουδαῖοι οἵ τε παλαιοὶ καὶ οἱ νῦν οὗτοι*, iii. 52. d. *οἱ τότε καὶ οἱ νῦν νῦν*, Sent. D. 3. c. *τῶν νῦν*, ibid. 4. init. (vid. also *καὶ οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι*, i. 8. supr. p. 190. yet vid. *οἱ τότε Ἰουδαῖοι*, de Syn. 33.) *τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαϊζόντων*, i. 39. supr. p. 236. *ἡ Ἰουδαϊκὴ νῦν αἵρεσις*, Hist. Arian. 19 fin. (vid. also Orat. iii. 28.) *Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τότε.... Ἀρειανοὶ νῦν Ἰουδαΐζοντες*, de Decr. 2. supr. p. 4. The Arians are addressed under the name of Jews, *ὦ χριστόμαχοι καὶ ἀχάριστοι Ἰουδαῖοι*, Orat. iii. 55. They are said to be Jews *passim*. Their likeness to the Jews is drawn out, Orat. iii. 27. de Decr. i. supr. pp. 2—4. It is observable, that Eusebius makes a point, on the contrary, of calling Marcellus a Judaizer and Jewish, on the ground that he denied that Wisdom was more than an attribute in the Divine Mind, e. g. pp. 42. c. 62, fin. 65, d.

[b] *ἐρωτῶντες ἐμανθάνον*; and so *μαθὼν ἐδιδάσκειν*, Orat. iii. 9. de Decr. 7. supr. p. 13, note a.

tion, still, since from a misconception of the Apostle's words, (to mention them first,) they consider the Word of God to be one of the works, because of its being written, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, I have thought it needful to silence this further argument of theirs, taking in hand[c], as before, their statement. CHAP. XIV.

3. If then He be not a Son, let Him be called a work, and let all that is said of works be said of Him, nor let Him and Him alone be called Son, and Word, and Wisdom; neither let God be called Father, but only Framer and Creator of things which by Him come to be; and let the creature be Image and Expression of His framing will, and let Him, as they would have it, be without generative[1] nature, so that there be neither Word, nor Wisdom, no, nor Image, of His proper substance. For if He be not Son[2], neither is He Image[d]. But if there be not a Son, how then say you that God is a Creator? since all things that come to be are through the Word and in Wisdom, and without This nothing can be, whereas you say He hath not That in and through which He makes all things. For if the Divine Substance be §. 2.

[1] γεννητικῆς, p. 284, note e.

[2] p. 312, note m.

[c] By λαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ λῆμμα, "accepting the proposition they offer," he means that he is engaged in going through certain texts brought against the Catholic view, instead of bringing his own proofs, vid. Orat. i. 37. supr. p. 233. Yet after all it is commonly his way, as here, to start with some general exposition of the Catholic doctrine which the Arian sense of the text in question opposes, and thus to create a prejudice or proof against the latter. vid. Orat. i. 10. 38. 40. init. 53. d. ii. 5. 12. init. 32—34. 35. 44. init. which refers to the whole discussion, 18—43. 73. 77. iii. 18. init. 36. init. 42. 54. 51. init. &c. On the other hand he makes the ecclesiastical sense the rule of interpretation, τούτῳ [τῷ σκοπῷ, the general drift of Scripture doctrine,] ὥσπερ κανόνι χρησάμενοι περιέχομεν τῇ ἀναγνώσει τὴν διανύσσουσαν γραφήν, iii. 28. fin. This illustrates what he means when he says that certain texts have a "good," "pious," "orthodox" sense, i. e. they can be interpreted (in spite, if so be, of appearances) in harmony with the Regula Fidei. vid. infr. p. 341, note h; also notes on 35. and iii. 58.

[d] i. e. in any true sense of the word "image;" or, so that He may be accounted the ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν of the Father, vid. supr. p. 106, note d. The ancient Fathers consider, that the Divine Sonship is the very consequence (so to speak) of the necessity that exists, that One who is Infinite Perfection should subsist again in a Perfect Image of Himself, which is the doctrine to which Athan. goes on to allude, and the idea of which (he says) is prior to that of creation. A redundatio in imaginem is synonymous with a generatio Filii. "Naturam et essentiam Deitatis," says Thomassin, "in suo fonte assentiuntur omnes esse plenitudinem totius esse. At hæc necesse est ut statim exundet nativâ fœcunditate suâ. Infinitum enim illud Esse, non Esse tantum est, sed Esse totum est; vivere id ipsum est, intelligere, sapere; opulentiæ suæ, bonitatis, et sapientiæ rivulos undique spargere; nec rivulos tantum, sed et fontem et plenitudinem ipsam suam diffundere. Hæc enim demum fœcunditas Deo digna, Deo par est, ut a Fonte bonitatis, non rivulus sed flumen effluat, nec extra effluat, sed in ipsomet, cum extra nihil sit, quo illa plenitudo capi possit." de Trin. 19. 1.

Disc. II. not fruitful itself[a], but barren, as they hold, as a light that lightens not, and a dry fountain, are they not ashamed to speak of His possessing framing energy? and whereas they deny what is by nature, do they not blush to place before it what is by will[1]? But if He frames things that are external to Him and before were not, by willing them to be, and becomes their Maker, much more will He first be Father of an Offspring from His proper Substance. For if they attribute to God the willing about things which are not, why recognise they not that in God which lies above the will? now it is a something that surpasses will, that He should be by nature, and should be Father of His proper Word. If then that which comes first, which is according to nature, does not exist, as they would have it in their folly, how can that which is second come to be, which is according to will? for the Word is first, and then the creation.

[1] Orat. iii. 59, &c.

4. On the contrary the Word exists, whatever they affirm, those irreligious ones; for through Him did creation come to be, and God, as being Maker, plainly hath also His framing Word, not external, but proper to Him;—for this must be repeated. If He has the power of will, and His will is effective[2], and suffices for the consistence of the things that come to be, and His Word is effective[2], and a Framer, that Word must surely be the living Will[3] of the Father, and an energy in substance[4], and a real Word, in whom all things both consist and are excellently governed. No one can even doubt, that He who disposes is prior to the disposition and the things disposed. And thus, as I said, God's creating is second to His begetting; for Son implies something proper to Him and truly from that blessed and everlasting Substance; but what is from His will, comes into consistence from without, and is framed through His proper Offspring who is from It.

[2] ποιητικὸν

[3] Orat. iii. 63, c.

[4] ἐνούσιος, p. 141. r. 2. infr. 28.

§. 3. 5. In the judgment of reason[5] then they are guilty of great extravagance who say that the Lord is not Son of God, but a work, and it follows that we all of necessity confess that

[5] infr. p. 328, note k.

[a] For *καρποφόρος ἡ οὐσία*, vid. supr. p. 25, note e *γεννητικὸς*, Orat. iii. 66. iv. 4. fin. *ἄγονος*, i. 14, fin. and Sent. Dion. 15. 19. *ἡ φυσικὴ γονιμότης*, Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 133. *ἄκαρπος*, Cyr. Thes. p. 45. Epiph. Hær. 65. p. 609. b. Vid. the *γέννησις* and the *κτίσις* contrasted together, Orat. i. 29. vid. supr. p. 18, note o. p. 153, note c. The doctrine in the text is shortly expressed, infr. Orat. iv. 4 fin. *εἰ ἄγονος καὶ ἀνενέργητος*.

He is Son. And if He be Son, as indeed He is, and a son is confessed to be, not external to his father, but from him, let them not question about the terms, as I said before, which the sacred writers use of the Word Himself, viz. not " to Him that begat Him," but *to Him that made Him;* for while it is confessed what His nature is, what word is used in such instances need raise no question[1]. For terms do not disparage His Nature; rather that Nature draws[2] to Itself those terms and changes them. For terms are not prior to substances, but substances are first, and terms second. Wherefore also when the substance is a work or creature, then the words *He made,* and *He became,* and *He created,* are used of it properly[3], and designate the work. But when the Substance is an Offspring and Son, then *He made,* and *He became,* and *He created,* no longer properly belong to it, nor designate a work; but *He made* we use without question for " He begat." Thus fathers often call the sons born of them their servants, yet without denying the genuineness of their nature; and often they affectionately call their own servants children, yet without putting out of sight their purchase of them originally; for they use the one appellation from their authority as being fathers, but in the other they speak from affection. Thus Sara called Abraham lord, though not a servant but a wife; and while to Philemon the master the Apostle joined Onesimus the servant as a brother, Bethsabe, although mother, called her son servant, saying to his father, *Thy servant Solomon;*—afterwards also Nathan the Prophet came in and repeated her words to David, *Solomon thy servant.* Nor did they care for calling the son a servant, for while David heard it, he recognised the " nature," and while they spoke it, they forgot not the " genuineness," praying that he might be made his father's heir, to whom they gave the name of servant; for he to David was son by nature.

CHAP. XIV.

[1] p. 283, note c.

[2] p. 287, r. 3.

[3] κυρίως

1 Kings 1, 19.

ver. 26.

6. As then, when we read this, we interpret it fairly, without accounting Solomon a servant because we hear him so called, but a son natural and genuine, so also, if, concerning the Saviour, who is confessed to be in truth the Son, and to be the Word by nature, the sacred writers say, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him,* or if He say of Himself,

§. 4.

Disc. II. Ps. 116, 16.

The Lord created Me, and, *I am Thy servant and the Son of Thine handmaid*, and the like, let not any on this account deny that He is proper[1] to the Father and from Him; but, as in the case of Solomon and David, let them have a right idea of the Father and the Son. For if, though they hear Solomon called a servant, they acknowledge him to be a son, are they not deserving of many deaths[f], who, instead of preserving the same explanation in the instance of the Lord, whenever they hear "Offspring," and "Word," and "Wisdom," forcibly misinterpret and deny the generation, natural and genuine, of the Son from the Father; but on hearing words and terms proper to a work, forthwith drop down to the notion of His being by nature a work, and deny the Word; and this, though it is possible, from His having been made man, to refer all these terms to His humanity? And are they not proved to be *an abomination* also *unto the Lord*, as having *diverse weights* with them, and with this estimating those other instances, and with that blaspheming the Lord?

[1] ἐκ τοῦ π. διάστασιν

Prov. 20, 23.

7. But perhaps they grant that the word *servant* is used under a certain understanding, but lay stress upon *Who made* as some great support of their heresy. But this stay of theirs also is but a broken reed; for if they are aware of the style of Scripture, they must at once give sentence against[2] themselves. For as Solomon, though a son, is called a

[2] p. 6, note o. p. 220, n. 2.

[f] πολλάκις ἀπολωλίναι δίκαιοι, vid. Apol. c. Ar. 36. e. infr. §. 28. b. "You *ought* (ὤφειλες) to have your impious tongue cut out," the Arian Acacius says to Marcellus, ap. Epiph. Hær. 72, 7. "And although all men good and bad *adjudge* thee to the agony (discruciandam judicent) of all kinds of torture, to the penalty of death, or to the flame, &c." says S. Ambrose, (as it is generally considered,) to a lapsed nun who was said to have killed her child, de laps. Virg. n. 34. "If Eutyches thinks otherwise than the decrees of the Church, he *deserves* (ἄξιος) not only punishment, but the fire." Dioscorus ap. Concil. Chalced. (Hard. t. 2. p. 100.) In time they advanced from *accounting* to *doing*. The Emperor Justin proposes to cut out the heretic Severus's tongue, Evagr. iv. 4. Supra p. 53, note f. we find an advance from *allegory* to *fact*; vid. also supr. i. 38. e. infr. iii. 41. d. and "blasphemiis *lapidasti*," Theodor. ap. Concil. 6. (Labbe, t. 6. p. 88.) And S. Dionysius, "With these two unconnected words, as with stones, they attempt to hit me (βάλλειν) from a distance." Sent. Dion. 18. Sometimes it was a literalism deduced from the doctrine in dispute; as at the Latrocinium, "Cut in two those who assert two Natures." Concil. Hard. t. 2. p. 81. Palladius relates a case in which a sort of *ordeal* became a *punishment*. Abbot Copres proposed to a Manichee to enter a fire with him. After Copres had come out unharmed, the populace forced the Manichee into it, and then cast him, burnt as he was, out of the city. Hist. Lausiac. 54. S. Gregory mentions the case of a wizard, who had pretended to be a monk and had used magical arts against a nun, being subsequently burned by the Roman populace. Dial. i. 4.

servant, so, to repeat what was said above, although parents call the sons springing from themselves "made" and "created" and "becoming," for all this they do not deny their nature. Thus Ezekias, as is written in the book of Esaias, said in his prayer, *From this day I will make children, who shall declare Thy righteousness, O God of my salvation.* He then said, *I will make;* but the Prophet in that very book and the Fourth of Kings, thus speaks, *And the sons who shall come forth of thee.* He uses then *make* for "beget," and he calls them who were to spring from him, *made*, and no one questions whether the term has reference to a natural offspring. Again, Eve on bearing Cain said, *I have gotten a man from the Lord*[2]; thus she too used *gotten* for "brought forth." For, first she saw the child, yet next she said, *I have gotten.* Nor would any one consider, because of *I have gotten*, that Cain was purchased from without, instead of being born of her. Again, the Patriarch Jacob said to Joseph, *And now thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasses, which became thine in Egypt, before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine.* And Scripture says about Job, *And there came to him seven sons and three daughters.* As Moses too has said in the Law, *If sons become to any one,* and, *If he make a son.* Here again they speak of those who are begotten, as *become* and *made*, knowing that, while they are acknowledged to be sons, we need not make a question of *they became*, or *I have gotten*, or *I made*[3]. For nature and truth draw the meaning to themselves[4].

CHAP. XIV.

Is. 38, 19. Sept.

2 Kings 20, 18. Is. 39, 7.

Gen. 4, 1.

[2] infr. 44. note on קנה

Gen. 48, 5. Sept.

Job 1, 2. Sept.

Lev. 25, 45.? vid. ibid. v. 21.

§. 5.

[3] Serap. ii. 6. b.

[4] supr. p. 285. r. 2.

8. This being so[5], when persons ask whether the Lord is a creature or work, it is proper to ask of them this first, whether He is Son and Word and Wisdom. For if this is shewn, the surmise about work and creation falls to the ground at once and is ended. For a work could never be Son and Word; nor could the Son be a work. And again this being the state of the case, the proof is plain to all, that the phrase, *To Him who made Him* does not serve their heresy, but rather condemns it. For it has been shewn that the

[5] That is, while the style of Scripture *justifies* us in thus interpreting the word "made," doctrinal truth *obliges* us to do so. He considers the Regula Fidei the principle of interpretation, and accordingly he goes on at once to apply it. vid. supr. p. 283. note c. infr. p. 341, note h.

Disc. II. expression *He made* is applied in divine Scripture even to children genuine and natural; whence, the Lord being proved to be the Father's Son naturally and genuinely, and Word, and Wisdom, though *He made* be used concerning Him, or *He became*, this is not said of Him as if a work, but the sacred writers make no question about using the expression,—for instance in the case of Solomon, and Ezekias's children. For though the fathers had begotten them from themselves, still it is written, *I have made*, and *I have gotten*, and *He became*. Therefore God's enemies[1], in spite of their repeated allegation of such small terms[2], ought now, though late in the day, after what has been said, to disown their irreligious thoughts, and think of the Lord as of a true Son, Word, and Wisdom of the Father, not a work, not a creature. For if the Son be a creature, by what word then and by what wisdom was He made Himself[3]? for all the works were made through the Word and the Wisdom, as it is written, *In wisdom hast Thou made them all*, and *All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made.* But if it be He who is the Word and the Wisdom, by which all things come to be, it follows that He is not in the number of works, nor in short of things generate, but the Offspring of the Father.

[1] *Hom.* χ^α

[2] λεξίδια p. 296. r. 3.

Orat. iii. 59. a

Sent. D. 4. c.

[3] Orat. iii. 62 init.

infr. p. 311, note k.

Ps. 104, 24.

John 1, 3.

§. 6. 9. For consider how grave an error it is, to call God's Word a work. Solomon says in one place in Ecclesiastes, that *God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.* If then the Word be a work, do you mean that He as well as others will be brought into judgment? and what room is there for judgment, when the Judge is on trial? who will give to the just their blessing, who to the unworthy their punishment, the Lord, as you must suppose, standing on trial with the rest? by what law shall He, the Lawgiver, Himself be judged? These things are proper to the works, to be on trial, to be blessed and to be punished by the Son. Now then fear the Judge, and let Solomon's words convince you. For if God shall bring the works one and all into judgment, but the Son is not in the number of things put on trial, but rather is Himself the Judge of works one and all, is not the proof clearer than the sun, that the Son is not a work but the

Eccles. 12, 14.

Father's Word, in whom all the works both come to be and come into judgment? CHAP. XIV.

10. Further, if the expression, *Who was faithful*, is a difficulty to them, from the thought that *faithful* is used of Him as of others, as if He exercises faith and so receives the reward of faith, they must proceed at this rate to find fault with Moses, for saying, *God faithful and true*[1], and with St. Paul for writing, *God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able.* But when the sacred writers spoke thus, they were not thinking of God in a human way, but they acknowledged two senses of the word *faithful* in Scripture, first *believing*, then *trustworthy*, of which the former belongs to man, the latter to God. Thus Abraham was faithful, because he believed God's word; and God faithful, for, as David says in the Psalm, *The Lord is faithful in all His words*, or is trustworthy, and cannot lie. Again, *If any faithful woman have widows*, she is so called for her right faith; but, *It is a faithful saying*, because what He hath spoken, has a claim on our faith, for it is true, and is not otherwise. Accordingly the words, *Who is faithful to Him that made Him*, implies no parallel with others, nor means that by having faith He became well-pleasing; but that, being Son of the True God, He too is faithful, and ought to be believed in all He says and does, Himself remaining unalterable and not changed[h] by in His human economy and fleshly presence.

[1] not in O. T. vid. Apoc. 3, 14. 19, 11. 1 Cor. 10, 13. Ps. 145, 14. Sept. 1 Tim. 5, 16. Tit. 3, 8.

11. Thus then we may meet these men who are shameless, §. 7.

[h] ἄτρεπτος καὶ μὴ ἀλλοιούμενος; vid. supr. p. 23. it was the tendency of Arianism to consider that in the Incarnation some such change actually was undergone by the Word, as they had from the first maintained in the abstract was possible; that whereas He was in *nature* τρεπτὸς, He was in *fact* ἀλλοιούμενος. This was implied in the doctrine that His superhuman nature supplied the place of a soul in His manhood. Hence the Semi-arian Sirmian Creed anathematizes those who said, τὸν Λόγον τρεπτὸν ὑπομεμενηκέναι, vid. supr. p. 119. note o. This doctrine connected them with the Apollinarian and Eutychian Schools, to the former of which Athan. compares them, contr. Apoll. i. 12. while, as opposing the latter, Theodoret entitles his first Dialogue Ἄτρεπτος. Hence, as Athan. here says, ἄτρεπτος μένων, so against Apollinaris he says, ὁ λόγος ἄνθρωπος γέγονε, μένων θεός. ii. 7. vid. also ibid. 3. circ. init. So ὃ μὲν ἦν, διέμεινεν· ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἦν, προσέλαβεν. Naz. Orat. 29, 19. οὐσία μένουσα ὅπερ ἐστί. Chrysost. ap. Theodor. Eran. p. 47. ὃ ἦν ἔμεινε δι' ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ὁ ἐβλήθη γέγονε δι' ἡμᾶς. Procl. ad Arm. p. 615. ed. 1630. vid. also Maxim. Opp. t. 2. ed. 1675. ὅπερ ἦν διαμένων καὶ γινόμενος ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν. p. 286. vid. also p. 264. manens id quod erat, factus quod non erat. August. cons. Ev. i. 53 fin. Non omiserat quod erat, sed cœperat esse quod non erat. Hilar. Trin. iii. 16. non amittendo quod suum erat, sed suscipiendo quod nostrum erat. Vigil. contr. Eut. i. p. 498. (B. P. ed. 1624.)

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and from the single expression *He made*, may shew that they err in thinking that the Word of God is a work. But further, since the drift also of the context is orthodox[1], shewing the time and the relation to which this expression points, I ought to shew from it also how the heretics lack reason[2]; viz. by considering, as we have done above, the occasion when it was used and for what purpose. Now the Apostle is not discussing things before the creation when he thus speaks, but when *the Word became flesh;* for thus it is written, *Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession Jesus, who was faithful to Him that made Him.* Now when became He *Apostle*, but when He put on our flesh? and when became He *High Priest of our profession*, but when, after offering Himself for us, He raised His Body from the dead, and, as now, Himself brings near and offers to the Father, those who in His faith approach Him, redeeming all, and for all propitiating God? Not then as wishing to signify the Substance of the Word nor His natural generation from the Father, did the Apostle say, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*,—(perish the thought! for the Word is not made, but makes,)—but as signifying His descent[3] to mankind and High-priesthood which did *become*[4],—as one may easily see from the account given of the Law and of Aaron.

[1] ἰδὲ infr. 44. note.

[2] ἀλογίαν p. 2, note e.

[3] κάθοδον

[4] p. 268.

12. I mean, Aaron was not born a high-priest, but a man; and in process of time, when God willed, he became a high priest; yet became so, not simply, nor as betokened by his ordinary garments, but putting over them the ephod, the breastplate, the robe, which the women wrought at God's command, and going in them into the holy place, he offered the sacrifice for the people; and in them, as it were, mediated between the vision of God and the sacrifices of men. Thus then the Lord also, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;* but when the Father willed that ransoms should be paid for all and to all grace should be given, then truly the Word, as Aaron his robe, so did He take earthly flesh, having Mary for the Mother of His Body as if virgin earth[1], that, as a

Exod. 28, 5.

[1] ἀνηργάσατου γῆς is an allusion to Adam's formation from the ground; and so Irenæus, Hær. iii. 21. fin. and Tertullian; "That Virgin Earth,

High Priest, having He as others an offering, He might offer Himself to the Father, and cleanse us all from sins in His own blood, and might rise from the dead. For what happened of old was a shadow of this; and what the Saviour did on His coming, this Aaron shadowed out according to the Law. As then Aaron was the same and did not change by putting on the high-priestly dress[k], but remaining the same was only robed, so that, had any one seen him offering, and had said, "Lo, Aaron has this day become high-priest," he had not implied that he then had been born man, for man he was even before he became high-priest, but that he had been made high-priest in his ministry, on putting on the garments made and prepared for the high-priesthood; in the same way it is possible in the Lord's instance also to understand aright, that He did not become other than Himself on taking the flesh, but, being the same as before, He was robed in it; and the expressions *He became* and *He was made*, must not be understood as if the Word, considered as the Word[l], were made, but that the Word, being Framer of all,

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not yet watered by rains, nor impregnated by showers, from which man was formed in the beginning, from which Christ is now born according to the flesh from a Virgin." adv. Jud. 13. vid. de Carn. Christ. 17. Ex terra virgine Adam, Christus ex virgine. Ambros. in Luc. lib. iv. 7. vid. also the parallel drawn out Serm. 147. App. S. August. and in Proclus Orat. 2. pp. 103, 4. ed. 1630. vid. also Chrysost. t. 3. p. 113. ed. Ben. and Theodotus at Ephesus, "O earth unsown, yet bearing a salutary fruit, O Virgin, who surpassedst the very Paradise of Eden, &c." Conc. Eph. p. 4. (Hard. t. i. p. 1643.) And so Proclus again, "She, the flowering and incorruptible Paradise, in whom the Tree of Life, &c." Orat. 6. p. 227. And Basil of Seleucia, "Hail, full of grace, the amarantine Paradise of Purity, in whom the Tree of Life, &c." Orat. in Annunc. p. 215. and p. 212. "Which, think they, is the harder to believe, that a virgin womb should be with child, or the ground should be animated?" &c. And Hesychius, "Garden unsown, Paradise of immortality." Bibl. Patr. Auctar. t. 2. pp. 421, 423.

[k] This is one of those distinct and luminous protests by anticipation against Nestorianism, which in consequence may be abused to the purposes of the opposite heresy. Such expressions as περιτιθέμενος τὴν ἰσθῆτα, ἐκαλύπτετο, ἐνδυσάμενος σῶμα, were familiar with the Apollinarians, against whom S. Athanasius is, if possible, even more decided. Theodoret objects Hær. v. 11. p. 422. to the word προσκάλυμμα, as applied to our Lord's manhood, as implying that He had no soul; vid. also Naz. Ep. 102. fin. (ed. 1840.) In Naz. Ep. 101. p. 90. παρασίτασμα is used to denote an Apollinarian idea. Such expressions were taken to imply that Christ was not in nature *man*, only in some sense *human*; not a substance, but an appearance; yet S. Athan. (if Athan.) contr. Sabell. Greg. 4. has παρασιτισασμένην and κάλυμμα, ibid. init. S. Cyril Hieros. κατασίτασμα, Catech. xii. 26. xiii. 32. after Hebr. 10, 20. and Athan. ad Adelph. 5. e. Theodor. παρασίτασμα, Eran. 1. p. 22. and προσκάλυμμα, ibid. p. 23. and adv. Gent. vi. p. 877. and στολὴ, Eran. l. c. S. Leo has caro Christi velamen, Ep. 59. p. 979. vid. also Serm. 22. p. 70. Serm. 25. p. 84.

[l] ὁ λόγος ἐστί. vid. supr. p. 240. ref. 4. Orat. ii. 74. e. iii. 38 init. 39. b. 41 init. 45 init. 52. b. iv. 23. f.

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afterwards[m] was made High Priest, by putting on a body which was generate and made, and such as He can offer for us; wherefore He is said to be made. If then indeed the Lord did not become man[n], that is a point for the Arians

[m] The Arians considered that our Lord's Priesthood preceded His Incarnation, and belonged to His Divine Nature, and was in consequence the token of an inferior divinity. The notice of it therefore in this text did but confirm them in their interpretation of the words *made, &c.* For the Arians, vid. Epiph. Hær. 69, 37. Eusebius too had distinctly declared, Qui videbatur, erat agnus Dei; qui occultabatur sacerdos Dei." advers. Sabell. i. p. 2. b. vid. also Demonst. i. 10. p. 38. iv. 16. p. 193. v. 3. p. 223. contr. Marc. pp. 8 and 9. 66. 74. 95. Even S. Cyril of Jerusalem makes a similar admission, Catech. x. 14. Nay S. Ambrose calls the Word, plenum justitiæ sacerdotalis, de fug. sæc. 3. 14. S. Clement Alex. before them speaks once or twice of the λόγος ἀρχιερεύς, e. g. Strom. ii. 9 fin. and Philo still earlier uses similar language, de Profug. p. 466. (whom S. Ambrose follows) de Somniis p. 597. vid. Thomassin. de Incarn. x. 9. Nestorius on the other hand maintained that the Man Christ Jesus was the Priest, relying on the text which has given rise to this note; Cyril adv. Nest. p. 64. and Augustine and Fulgentius may be taken to countenance him, de Consens. and Evang. i. 6. ad Thrasim. iii. 30. The Catholic doctrine is, that the Divine Word is Priest *in* and *according to* His manhood. vid. the parallel use of πρωτότοκος infr. 62—64. "As He is called Prophet and even Apostle for His humanity," says S. Cyril Alex. "so also Priest." Glaph. ii. p. 58. and so Epiph. loc. cit. Thomassin loc. cit. makes a distinction between a divine Priesthood or Mediatorship, such as the Word may be said to sustain between the Father and all creatures, and an earthly one for the sake of sinners. vid. also Huet. Origenian. ii. 3. §. 4, 5. For the history of the controversy among Protestants as to the Nature to which His Mediatorship belongs, vid. Petav. Incarn. xii. 3. 4. Bayle's Dict. Art. Stancar. notes D, G, K. and Le Blanc. Thes. Theol. p. 691.

[n] Athan. here hints at one special instance in which the remark, made supr. p. 189. note b. is fulfilled, that all heresies run into each other, (one may even say,) logically. No doctrines were apparently more opposed, whether historically or ethically, than the Arian and the Apollinarian or Monophysite; nay in statement, so far as the former denied that our Lord was God, the latter that He was man. But their agreement lay in this compromise, that strictly speaking He was neither God nor man. In this passage Athan. hints that if the Arians gave the titles (such as Priest) which really belong to our Lord's manhood to His pre-existent nature, what were they doing but removing the evidences of His manhood, and so far denying it? vid. the remarkable passage of the Council of Sardica against Valens and Ursacius quoted supr. p. 123. note u. In the Arian Creed too to which that note is appended, it is implied that the Son is passible, the very doctrine against which Theodoret writes one of his Antimonophysite Dialogues, called Eranistes. He writes another on the ἄτρεπτον of Christ, a doctrine which was also formally denied by Arius, and is defended by Athan. supra p. 230. (as observed just above p. 289, note h.) Even Eusebius, against Marcellus, speaks of our Lord's taking a *body*, almost to the prejudice of the doctrine of His taking a perfect *manhood*; εἰ μὴ ψυχῆς ἄνευ εἰκὼν ἐν αὐτῷ [τῷ σώματι]. contr. Marcell. p. 54. d. even granting, as is the case, that he is professing to state Marcellus's doctrine. He speaks as if Christ's ζωτικὸς σάρξ, if the Word retired from it, would be ἄλογος, p. 55. c. which surely implies, though not in the force of the term, that Christ was without a soul. vid. also p. 91. a. Hence it is Gibbon's calumny (ch. 47. note 34.) after La Croze, Hist. Christ. des Indes p. 11. that the Arians invented the term θεοτόκος, which the Monophysites (as well as the Catholics) strenuously held. vid. Garner in Mar. Merc. t. 2. p. 299. If the opposites of connected heresies are connected together, then the doctrinal connection of Arianism and Apollinarianism is shewn in their respective opposition to the heresies of

to battle; but if the *Word became flesh*, what ought to have been said concerning Him when become man, but *Who was faithful to Him that made Him?* for as it is proper to the Word to have it said of Him, *In the beginning was the Word*, so it is proper to man to *become* and to be *made*. Who then, on seeing the Lord as a man walking about, and yet appearing to be God from His works, would not have asked, Who made Him man? and who again, on such a question, would not have answered, that the Father made Him man, and sent Him to us as High Priest? CHAP. XIV.

13. And this meaning, and time, and character[1], the Apostle himself, the writer of the words, *Who is faithful to Him that made Him*, will best make plain to us, if we attend to what goes before them. For there is one train of thought[2], and the passage is all about One and the Same. He writes then in the Epistle to the Hebrews thus; *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. For verily He took not on Him the nature of Angels; but He took on Him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people. For in that He Himself hath suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted. Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus, who was faithful to Him that made Him.* Who can read this whole passage without condemning the Arians, and admiring the blessed Apostle who has spoken so well? for when was Christ *made*, when became He *Apostle*, except when, like us, He *took part in flesh and blood?* And when became He *a merciful and faithful High Priest*, except when *in all things He was made like unto His brethren?* And then was He §. 9.

[1] ἀιδιότητος Sabellius and Nestorius. Salig Eutych. ant. Eut. 10. denies the connection, but with very little show of reason. La Croze calls Apollinarianism, "Arianismi tradux," Thes. Ep. Lacroz. t. 3. p. 276.

[2] ἀπολογίαν p. 298, r. 1. Orat. iii. 64. Heb. 2. 14—18. 3, 2.

Disc. II. *made like*, when He became man, having put upon Him our flesh. Wherefore Paul was writing concerning the Word's human economy, when he said, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*, and not concerning His Substance. Have not therefore any more the madness to say that the Word of God is a work, whereas He is Son by nature Only-begotten; and then had *brethren*, when He took on Him flesh like ours; which moreover, by Himself offering Himself, He was named and became *merciful and faithful*,—merciful, because in mercy to us He offered Himself for us, and faithful, not as sharing faith with us, nor as having faith in any one as we have, but as deserving to receive faith in all He says and does, and as offering a faithful sacrifice, one which remains and does not come to nought. For those which were offered according to the Law, had not this faithfulness, passing away with the day and needing a further cleansing; but the Saviour's sacrifice, taking place once, has perfected the whole, and is become faithful as remaining for ever. And Aaron had successors, and in a word the priesthood under the Law exchanged its first ministers as time and death went on; but the Lord having a high priesthood without transition and without succession, has become a *faithful High Priest*, as continuing for ever; and faithful too by promise, that He may hear[1] and not mislead those who come to Him.

[1] or, answer, vid. infr. iii. 27.

14. This may be also learned from the Epistle of great Peter, who says, *Let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls to a faithful Creator.* For He is faithful as not changing, but abiding ever, and rendering what He has promised. Now the so-called gods of the Greeks, unworthy the name, are faithful neither in their essence nor in their promises; for the same are not every where, nay, the local deities come to nought in course of time, and undergo a natural dissolution; wherefore the Word cries out against them, that *faith is not strong in them*, but they are *waters that fail*, and *there is no faith in them*. But the God of all, being one really and indeed and true, is faithful, who is ever the same, and says, *See now, that I, even I am He*, and I *change not;* and therefore His Son is *faithful*, being ever the same and unchanging, deceiving neither in His essence nor in His promise;—as again says the Apostle writing to the

1 Pet. 4, 19.

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vid. Jer. 9, 3. and 15, 18. Deut. 32, 20. Sept. Deut. 32, 39. Mal. 3, 6.

Thessalonians, *Faithful is He who calleth you, who also will do it;* for in doing what He promises, He is faithful to His words. And he thus writes to the Hebrews as to the word's meaning "unchangeable;" *If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful; He cannot deny Himself.* Therefore reasonably the Apostle, discoursing concerning the bodily presence[1] of the Word, says, an *Apostle and faithful to Him that made Him*, shewing us that, even when made man, *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, and for ever*, is unchangeable. And as the Apostle makes mention in his Epistle of His being made man when mentioning His High Priesthood, so too he kept no long silence about His Godhead, but rather mentions it forthwith, furnishing to us a safeguard on every side, and most of all when he speaks of His humility, that we may forthwith know His loftiness and His majesty which is the Father's. For instance, he says, *Moses as a servant, but Christ as a Son;* and the former *faithful in his house*, and the latter *over the house*, as having Himself built it, and being its Lord and Framer, and as God sanctifying it. For Moses, a man by nature, became faithful, in believing God who spoke to Him by His Word; but[a] the Word was not as one of things generate in

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1 Thess. 5, 24. 2 Tim. 2, 13. ?

[1] σωματικὴν παρουσίαν.

Heb. 13.

Heb. 3, 5. 6.

[a] Here is a protest beforehand against the Monophysite doctrine, but such anticipations of various heresies are too frequent, as we proceed, to require or bear notice. It is well known that the illustration in the Athan. Creed, "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ," was taken by the Monophysites to imply that the Divine Nature was made dependent on the flesh, and was influenced and circumscribed by it. Man is partly soul and partly body; he is *of* body and soul, not body and soul; but Christ is wholly God, and wholly man, ὅλος Θεὸς, ὅλος ἄνθρωπος, infr. Orat. iv. 35. a. He is as simply God as if He were not man, as simply man as if He were not God; unus atque idem est, says S. Leo, et totus hominis filius propter carnem, et totus Dei filius propter unam cum Patre deitatem. Ep. 165, 8. Athan. has anticipated the heresy which denied this doctrine in a very distinct passage written apparently before the rise even of Arianism. "It is the function of the soul," he says, "to contemplate in its thoughts what is within its own body; but not to operate in things beyond its own body, or to move by its presence what is far from the body. Certainly man at a distance never moves or transposes such things; nor could a man sit at home and think of things in heaven, and thereby move the sun, or turn the heaven round.... Not thus is the Word of God in man's nature; for He is not implicated in the body, but rather He hath Himself dominion over it, so that He was not in it only but in all things, nay, He was external to the whole universe and in the sole Father." Incarn. V. D. 17. The same passage occurs in Serm. Maj. de Fid. 11. It is remarkable that the Monophysites should have been forced into their circumscription of the Divine Nature, considering that Eutyches their Patriarch began with asserting for reverence-sake that the Incarnate Word was not under the *laws* of human nature, vid. supr. p. 243, note i. This is another instance of the running of opposite heresies into each other, supr. p. 292, note n. Another remarkable instance will be found infr. iii. 43. the Agnoitæ, a sect of those very Eutychians, who denied or tended to deny our Lord's manhood with a view of pre-

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a body, nor as creature in creature, but as God in flesh[1], and Framer of all and Builder in that which was built by Him. And men are clothed in flesh in order to be and to subsist; but the Word of God was made man in order to sanctify the flesh, and, though He was Lord, was in the form of a servant; for the whole creature is the Word's servant[2], which by Him came to be, and was made.

[1] θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ, vid. λόγος ἐν σ. iii. 54. a. ℓ. ἐν σώματι, ii. 12. c. 15. a. λ. ἐν σώμ. Sent. D. 8 fin.

[2] p. 313. §. 11.

15. Hence it holds that the Apostle's expression, *He made*, does not prove that the Word is made, but that body, which He took like ours; and in consequence He is called our brother, as having become man. But if it has been shewn, that, even though the word *made* be referred to the Very Word, it is used for "begat," what further perverse expedient will they be able to fall upon, now that the present discussion has cleared up the word in every point of view, and shewn that the Son is not a work, but in Substance indeed the Father's offspring, while in the Economy, according to the good pleasure[3] of the Father, He was on our behalf made, and consists as man? For this reason then is it said by the Apostle, *Who was faithful to Him that made Him;* and in the Proverbs, even creation is spoken of. For so long as we are confessing that He became man, there is no question about saying, as was observed before, whether "He became," or "He has been made," or "created," or "formed," or "servant," or "son of an handmaid," or "son of man," or "was constituted," or "took His journey," or "bridegroom," or "brother's son," or "brother." All these terms[4] happen to be proper to man's nature; and such as these do not designate the Substance of the Word, but that He has become man.

[3] κατ' εὐδοκίαν Orat. iii. 64. init.

[4] λαξιώματα, vid. p. 288, r. 2.

serving His divinity, being characterized by holding that He was *ignorant*. The Lutheran Ubiquism in like manner has contrived to unite a portion of the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches.

CHAP. XV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; FIFTHLY, ACTS ii. 36.

The *Regula Fidei* must be observed; *made* applies to our Lord's manhood; and to His manifestation; and to His office relative to us; and is relative to the Jews. Parallel instance in Gen. 27, 29, 37. The context contradicts the Arian interpretation.

1. THE same is the meaning of the passage in the Acts which they also allege, that in which Peter says, that *He hath made both Lord and Christ that same Jesus whom ye have crucified.* For here too it is not written, "He made for Himself a Son," or "He made Himself a Word," that they should have such notions. If then it has not escaped their memory, that they speak concerning the Son of God, let them make search whether it is any where written, "God made Himself a Son," or "He created for Himself a Word;" or again, whether it is any where written in plain terms, "The Word is a work or creation;" and then let them proceed to make their case, the insensate men, that here too they may receive their answer. But if they can produce nothing of the kind, and only catch at such stray expressions as *He made* and *He has been made*, it is to be feared lest, from hearing, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth*, and *He made the sun and the moon*, and *He made the sea*, they should come in time to call the Word the heaven, and the Light which took place on the first day, and the earth, and each particular thing that has been made, so as to end in resembling the Stoics, as they are called, the one drawing out their god into all things[1], the other ranking God's Word with each work in particular; which they have well nigh done already, saying that He is one of His works.

[1] Bruckner de Zenon. §. 7. n. 14.

2. But here they must have the same answer as before, and first be told that the Word is a Son, as has been said above[2],

[2] vid. §. 12. p. 283, note c.

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3. Especially has that word *He made*, a meaning consistent [2] ἐχόμενον, p. 297, r. 2. with orthodoxy[2]; in that he has not said, as I observed before, "He made Him Word," but *He made Him Lord,* [3] ἁπλῶς nor that in general terms[3], but *towards* us, and *in the midst of* us, as much as to say, "He manifested Him." And this has Peter himself, starting from this master doctrine, carefully[a] Acts 2, 22. expressed, when he said to them, *Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man manifested of God towards you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by Him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves know.* Consequently the term which he uses in the end, *made*, this He has explained in the beginning by *manifested*, for by the signs and wonders which the Lord did, He was manifested to be not merely man, but God in a body and Lord also, the Christ. Such also is the passage in the Gospel according to John 5, 16. 18. John, *Therefore the more did the Jews persecute Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His own Father, making Himself equal with God.* For the Lord did not then fashion Himself to be God, nor indeed is a made God conceivable, but He mani- John 10, 38. not to the letter. fested it by the works, saying, *Though ye believe not Me, believe My works, that ye may know that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me.* Thus then the Father has *made* Him Lord and King in the midst of us, and towards us who were once disobedient; and it is plain that He who is now displayed as Lord and King, does not then begin to be King and Lord, but begins to shew His Lordship, and to extend it even over

[a] μετὰ παραστήσεως. vid. infr. 44. e. 59. b. 71. e. Orat. iii. 52. b.

the disobedient. If then they suppose that the Saviour was not Lord and King, even before He became man and endured the Cross, but then began to be Lord, let them know that they are openly reviving the statements of Samosatene. But if, as we have quoted and declared above, He is Lord and King everlasting, seeing that Abraham worships Him as Lord, and Moses says, *Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven;* and David in the Psalms, *The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand;* and, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy Kingdom;* and, *Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom;* it is plain that even before He became man, He was King and Lord everlasting, being Image and Word of the Father. And the Word being everlasting Lord and King, it is very plain again that Peter said not that the Substance of the Son was made, but spoke of His Lordship over us, which *became* when He became man, and, redeeming all by the Cross, became Lord of all and King.

CHAP. XV. §. 13.

Gen. 19, 24. Ps. 110, 1. Ps. 45, 7. Ps. 145, 13.

4. But if they continue the argument on the ground of its being written, *He made*, not willing that *He made* should be taken in the sense of *He manifested*, either from want of apprehension, or from their Christ-opposing purpose[1], let them attend to another sound exposition of Peter's words. For he who becomes Lord of others, comes into the possession of beings already in existence; but if the Lord is Framer of all and everlasting King, and when He became man, then gained possession of us, here too is a way in which Peter's language evidently does not signify that the Substance of the Word is a work, but the after subjection of all things, and the Saviour's Lordship over all which "became." And this coincides with what we said before[2]; for as we then introduced the words, *Become my God and defence*, and *the Lord became a refuge for the oppressed*, and it stood to reason that these expressions do not shew that God is generate, but that His beneficence *becomes* towards each individual, the same sense hath the expression of Peter also. For the Son of God indeed, being Himself the Word, is Lord of all; but we once were subject from the first to the slavery of corruption and the curse of the Law, then by degrees

[1] κρειττονι

[2] p. 269. vid. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 1. Ps. 31, 3. *stony rock*, E. V. Ps. 9, 9. *defence*

§. 14.

Disc. II. fashioning for ourselves things that were not, we served, as says the blessed Apostle, *them which by nature are no Gods*, and, Gal. 4, 8. ignorant of the true God, we preferred things that were not to the truth; but afterwards, as the ancient people when oppressed in Egypt, groaned, so, when we too had the Law *engrafted* in us, and according to the unutterable sighings of the Spirit made James 1, 21. our intercession, *O Lord our God, take possession of us*, then, Rom. 8, 26. as *He became for a house of refuge* and a *God and defence*, Is. 26, 13. so also He became our Lord. Nor did He then begin to be, Sept. but we began to have Him for our Lord. For upon this God being good and Father of the Lord, in pity, and desiring to be known by all, makes His own Son put on Him a human body and become man, and be called Jesus, that in this body offering Himself for all, He might deliver all from false worship and corruption, and might Himself become of all Lord and King.

5. His becoming therefore in this way Lord and King, this it is that Peter means by, *He hath made Him Lord*, and *hath sent Christ;* as much as to say, that the Father in making [1] ἁπλῶς Him man, (for to be made belongs to man,) did not simply[1] make Him man, but has made Him in order to His being Lord of all men, and to His hallowing all through the Anointing. For though the Word existing in the form of God took a servant's form, yet the assumption of the flesh did not make a servant[b] of the Word, who was by nature Lord; but rather, not only was it that emancipation of all humanity which takes place by the Word, but that very Word who was by nature Lord, and was then made man, hath by means of a servant's

[b] *οὐκ ἐδούλευσε τὸν λόγον* though, as he said supra p. 296. the Word became a servant, as far as He was man. He says the same thing Ep. Æg. 17. So say Naz. Orat. 32. 18. Nyssen. ad Simpl. (t. 2. p. 471.) Cyril. Alex. adv. Theodor. p. 223. Hilar. de Trin. xi. Ambros. 1. Epp. 46, 3. Athan. however seems to modify the statement (vid. also supr. p. 296. &c.) when he says infra 50. "Not that He was servant, but because He took a servant's form." Theodoret also denies it, Eran. ii. fin. And Damasc. F. O. iii. 21. who says, that our Lord "took on Him an ignorant and servile nature," but "that we may not call Him servant," though "the flesh is servile, had it not been united to God the Word." The parallel question of *ignorance*, here touched upon, will come under our notice infra, Orat. iii. 42—53. The latter view prevailed after the heresy of the Adoptionists, who seem to have made "servant" synonymous with "adopted son." Petavius Incarn. vii. 9. distinguishes between the essence or (what is called) *actus primus* and the *actus secundus;* thus water may be considered in its *nature* cold, though certain springs are *in fact* always warm. Vid. infr. p. 344, note f, upon the word "creature."

form been made Lord of all and Christ, that is, in order to hallow all by the Spirit. And as God, when *becoming a God and defence*, and saying, *I will be a God to them*, does not then become God more than before, nor then begins to become God, but, what He ever is, that He then becomes to those who need Him, when it pleaseth Him, so Christ also being by nature Lord and King everlasting, does not become Lord more than He was at the time He is sent forth, nor then begins to be Lord and King, but what He is ever, that He then is made according to the flesh; and, having redeemed all, He becomes thereby again Lord of quick and dead. For Him henceforth do all things serve, and this is David's meaning in the Psalm, *The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.* For it was fitting that the redemption should take place through none other than Him who is the Lord by nature, lest, though created by the Son, we should name another Lord, and fall into the Arian and Greek folly, serving the creature beyond the all-creating God[c]. CHAP. XV. Ps. 110, 1.

6. This, at least according to my nothingness[1], is the meaning of this passage; moreover, a true and a good meaning have these words of Peter as regards the Jews. For the Jews have wandered from the truth, and expect indeed the Christ as coming, but do not reckon that He undergoes a passion[2], saying what they understand not; *We know that, when the Christ cometh, He abideth for ever, and how sayest Thou, that He must be lifted up?* Next they suppose Him, not the Word coming in flesh, but a mere[3] man, as were all the kings. The Lord then, admonishing Cleophas and the other, taught them that the Christ must first suffer; and the rest of the Jews that God was come among them, saying, *If He called them gods to whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?* Peter then, having learned this from the Saviour, in both points set the Jews right, saying, "O Jews, the divine Scriptures announce that Christ cometh, and you consider Him a mere man as one of David's descendants, §. 15. [1] *εὐδενείαν.* [2] p. 303, r. 2. John 12, 34. not to the letter [3] *ψιλὸν* John 10, 36. §. 16.

[c] vid. Rom. 1, 25. and so both text and application very frequently, e. g. Ep. Æg. 4. e. 13. c. Vid. supr. p. 191, note d. infr. iii. 16. note.

Disc. II. whereas what is written of Him shews Him to be not such as you say, but rather announces Him as Lord and God, and immortal, and dispenser of life. For Moses has said, *Ye shall see your Life hanging before your eyes*[d]. And David in the hundred and ninth Psalm, *The Lord said unto My Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool;* and in the fifteenth, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, neither shalt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* Now that these passages have not David for their scope he himself witnesses, avowing that He who was coming was His own Lord. Nay you yourselves know that He is dead, and His relics are with you.

Deut. 28, 66. Ps. 110, 1. Ps. 16, 11.

7. "That the Christ then must be such as the Scriptures say, you will plainly confess yourselves. For those announcements come from God, and in them falsehood cannot be. If then ye can state that such a one has come before, and can prove him God from the signs and wonders which he did, ye have reason for maintaining the contest, but if ye are not able to prove His coming, but are expecting Him still, recognise the true season from Daniel, for his words relate to the present time. But if this present season be that which was of old afore-announced, and ye have seen what has taken place among us, be sure that this Jesus, whom ye crucified, this is the expected Christ. For David and all the Prophets are dead, and the sepulchres of all are with you, but that Resurrection which has now taken place, has shewn that the scope[1] of these passages is Jesus. For the crucifixion is denoted by *Ye shall see your Life hanging*, and the wound in the side by the spear answers to *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter*, and the resurrection, nay more, the rising of

[1] φάσις

Is. 53, 7.

[d] vid. Iren. Hær. iv. 10. 2. Tertull. in Jud. 11. Cyprian. Testim. iii. 2. n. 20. Lactant. Instit. iv. 18. Cyril Catech. xiii. 19. August. contr. Faust. xvi. 22. which are referred to in loc. Cypr. (O. T.) To which add Leon. Serm. 59. 6. Isidor. Hisp. contr. Jud. i. 35. ii. 6 Origen. in Cels. ii. 75. Epiph. Hær. p. 75. Damasc. F. O. iv. 11. fin. This interpretation is recommended even by the letter, which has תלואים לך מנגד, ἀντικρὺ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. Sept. pendebit tibi a regione. Gesen. who also says, "Since things which are à regione of a place, are necessarily a little removed from it, it follows that מנגד signifies at the same time to be at a small distance," referring to the case of Hagar, who was but a bow-shot from her child. Also, though the word here is תלא, yet תלה which is the same root, is used for hanging on a stake, or crucifixion, e. g. Gen. 20, 19. Deut. 21, 22. Esth. 5, 14; 7, 10.

the ancient dead from out their sepulchres, (for these most of you have seen,) this is, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell,* and *He will swallow up death in victory*, and again, *God will wipe away*. For the signs which actually took place, shew that He who was in a body was God, and also the Life and Lord of death. For it became the Christ, when giving life to others, Himself not to be detained by death; but this could not have happened, had He, as you suppose, been a mere[1] man. But in truth He is the Son of God, for men are all subject to death. CHAP. XV. Is. 25, 8.

[1] ψιλὸς

8. "Let no one therefore doubt, but the whole house of Israel know assuredly that this Jesus, whom ye saw in shape a man, doing signs and such works, as no one ever yet had done, is Himself the Christ and Lord of all. For though made man, and called JESUS, as we said before, He received no loss by that human passion[2], but rather, in being made man, He is manifested as Lord of quick and dead. For since, as the Apostle said, *in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* And so, since we men would not acknowledge God through His Word, nor serve the Word of God our natural Master, it pleased God to shew in man His own Lordship, and so to draw all men to Himself. But to do this by a mere man beseemed not[e]; lest, having man for our Lord, we should become worshippers of man[3]. Therefore the Word Himself became flesh, and the Father called His Name Jesus, and so *made* Him Lord and Christ, as much as to say, 'He made Him to rule and to reign;' that while at the Name of Jesus, whom ye crucified, every knee bows, we may acknowledge as Lord and King both the Son and through Him the Father."

[2] πάθει, p. 301, r. 2. 1 Cor. 1, 21.

[3] infr. iii. 32 fin.

9. The Jews then, most of them[f], hearing this, came to §. 17.

[e] In the text the Mediatorial Lordship is made an office of God the Word; still, not as God, but as man. So S. Augustine, of judgment; "He judges by His divine power, not by His human, and yet man himself will judge, as the Lord of glory was crucified." And just before, "He who believes in Me, believes not in that which He sees, lest our hope should be in a creature, but in Him who has taken on Him the creature, in which He might appear to human eyes." Trin. i. 27. 28. In like manner the Priesthood is the office of God in the form of man, supr. p. 292, note m. And so again none but the Eternal Son could be πρωτότοκος, yet He is so called when sent as Creator and as incarnate. infr. 64.

[f] οἱ πλείονες. vid. πόσαι μυριάδες, Act. 21. 20. Jenkin on the Christian Religion, vol. 2. ch. 32. Lardner, Jewish and Heathen Test. ch. i. Burton Eccles. Hist. 1st Cent. p. 50—52.

Disc. II. themselves and forthwith acknowledged the Christ, as it is written in the Acts. But, the Ario-maniacs on the contrary choose to remain Jews, and to contend with Peter; so let us proceed to place before them some parallel phrases; perhaps it may have some effect upon them, to find what the usage is of divine Scripture. Now that Christ is everlasting Lord and King, has become plain by what has gone before, nor is there a man to doubt about it; for being Son of God, He must be like Him[1], and being like, He is certainly both Lord and King, for He says Himself, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father.* On the other hand, that Peter's mere words, *He hath made Him both Lord and Christ*, do not imply the Son to be a creature, may be seen from Isaac's blessing, though this illustration is but a faint[2] one for our subject. Now he said to Jacob, *Become thou lord over thy brother;* and to Esau, *Behold, I have made him thy lord.* Now though the word *made* had implied Jacob's substance and the coming into being[3], even then it would not be right in them as much as to imagine the same of the Word of God, for the Son of God is no creature as Jacob was; besides, they might inquire and so rid themselves of that extravagance. But if they do not understand it of his substance nor of his coming into being, though Jacob was by nature creature and work, is not their madness worse than the Devil's[4], if what they dare not ascribe in consequence of a like phrase even to things by nature generate, that they attach to the Son of God, saying that He is a creature? For Isaac said *Become* and *I have made*, signifying neither the coming into being[3] nor the substance of Jacob; (for after thirty years and more from his birth he said this;) but his authority over his brother, which came to pass subsequently.

[1] p. 312, note m.

[2] ἀμοιρὲς, decr. 12, e.

Gen. 27, 29. 37.

[3] ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γενέσεως

[4] alluding to the temptation.

§. 18. 10. Much more then did Peter say this without meaning that the Substance of the Word was a work; for he knew Him to be God's Son, confessing, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God;* but he meant His Kingdom and Lordship which was formed and came to be according to grace, and was relatively to us. For while saying this, he was not silent about the Son of God's everlasting Godhead which is the Father's[5]; but He had said already, that He had poured the Spirit on us; now to give the Spirit with authority, is not in the power of

Mat. 16, 16.

[5] πατρικῆς

creature or work, but the Spirit is God's Gift[g]. For the creatures are hallowed by the Holy Spirit; but the Son, in that He is not hallowed by the Spirit but on the contrary Himself the Giver of it to all[1], is therefore no creature, but true Son of the Father. And yet He who gives the Spirit, the Same is said also to be made; that is, to be made among us Lord because of His manhood, while giving the Spirit because He is God's Word. For He ever was and is, as Son, so also Lord and Sovereign of all, being like in all things[2] to the Father, and having all that is the Father's[3], as He Himself has said[4].

CHAP. XV.

[1] supr. ch. xii.

[2] ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα. vid. infr. p. 311, note l.

[3] vid. infr. note on Orat. iii. 1.

[4] vid. John 16, 15.

[g] θεοῦ δῶρον. And so more distinctly S. Basil, δῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. de Sp. S. 57. and more frequently the later Latins, as in the Hymn, "Altissimi Donum Dei;" and the earlier, e. g. Hil. de Trin. ii. 29. and August. Trin. xv. 29. who makes it the personal characteristic of the Third Person in the Holy Trinity; "non dicitur Verbum Dei, nisi Filius, nec Donum Dei, nisi Spiritus Sanctus." And elsewhere, "Exiit, non quomodo natus, sed quomodo datus, et ideo non dicitur Filius." ibid. v. 15. making it, as Petavius observes, "His eternal property, ut sic procedat, tanquam *donabile*, as being Love." Trin. vii. 13. §. 20.

pp. 305–328 refer to on
col. 3, 5, First Brought
forth of every creature.
this Jan. 12, '07.

CHAP. XVI.

INTRODUCTORY TO PROVERBS viii. 22. THAT THE SON IS NOT A CREATURE.

Arian formula, a creature but not as one of the creatures; but each creature is unlike all other creatures; and no creature can create. The Word then differs from all creatures in that in which they, though otherwise differing, all agree together, as creatures; viz. in being an efficient cause; in being the one medium or instrumental agent in creation; moreover in being the revealer of the Father; and in being the object of worship.

Disc. II. Prov. 8, 22.

1. Now in the next place let us consider the passage in the Proverbs, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*[a]; although in shewing that the Word is no work, it has been also shewn that He is no creature. For it is the same to say work or creature, so that the proof that He is no work is a proof also that He is no creature. Whereas one may marvel at these men, thus devising excuses to be irreligious, and nothing daunted at the refutations which meet them upon every point. For first they set about deceiving the simple by their questions[b], "Did He who is make him that was not or Him that was from Him who was not[1]?" and, "Had you a son, before begetting him[2]?" And when this had been proved worthless, next they invented the question, "Is the Ingenerate one or two[3]?" Then, when in this they had

[1] supr. ch. 7. p. 213.
[2] ch. 8. p. 218.
[3] ch. 9. p. 224.

[a] We have found this text urged against the Catholic doctrine in the third century to support an Arian doctrine, supr. p. 47, note b. Eusebius Nicomed. in his letter to Paulinus, adduces it against Alexander in the very beginning of the controversy, Theod. Hist. i. 5. p. 752. Athan. says, supr. pp. 20, 21. that after this it was again put forward by the Arians about A.D. 350. It is presently explained at greater length than any other of the texts he handles, forming the chief subject of the Oration henceforth, after an introduction which extends down to 44.

[b] From the methodical manner in which the successive portions of his foregoing Oration are here referred to, it would almost seem as if he were answering in course some Arian work. vid. also supra, pp. 233, 257. infr. Orat. iii. 26. He does not seem to be tracing the controversy historically.

been confuted, straightway they formed another, "Has He free-will and an alterable nature[1]?" But being forced to give up this, next they set about saying, *Being made so much better than the Angels*[2]; and when the truth exposed this pretence, now again, collecting them all together, they think to recommend their heresy by *work* and *creature*[3]. For they mean those very things over again, and are true to their own perverseness, putting into various shapes and turning to and fro the same errors, if so be to deceive some by that variousness. Although then abundant proof has been given above of this their reckless expedient, yet, since they make all places sound with this passage from the Proverbs, and to many who are ignorant of the faith of Christians, seem to say somewhat, it is necessary to examine separately, *He created* as well as *Who was faithful to Him that made Him*[4]; that, as in all others, so in this text also, they may be proved to have got no further than a fantasy.

CHAP. XVI.

[1] ch. 10. p. 280.

[2] ch. 13. p. 257.

[3] ch. 14. and 15. pp. 281, 297.

Heb. 3, 2.

[4] ch. 14.

§. 19.

2. And first let us see the answers, which they returned to Alexander of blessed memory, in the outset, while their heresy was in course of formation. They wrote thus: "He is a creature, but not as one of the creatures; a work, but not as one of the works; an offspring, but not as one of the offsprings[c]." Let every one consider the profligacy and craft of this heresy; for knowing the bitterness of its own malignity, it makes an effort to trick itself out with fair words, and says, what indeed it means, that He is a creature, yet thinks to be able to skreen itself by adding, "but not as one of the creatures." However, in thus writing, they rather convict themselves of irreligion; for if, in your opinion, He is simply a creature, why add the pretence[5], "but not as one of the creatures?" And if He is simply a work, how "not as one of the works?" In which we may see the poison[6] of the heresy. For by saying, "offspring, but not as one of the offsprings," they reckon many sons, and one of these they pronounce to be the Lord; so that according to them He is no more Only-begotten, but one out of many brethren, and is called[d] offspring and son.

[5] ὑποκρίσεως, p. 127, note 9.

[6] p. 177.

[c] vid. Arius's letter, supr. p. 97. This was the sophism by means of which Valens succeeded with the Fathers of Arminium. vid. S. Jerome in Luciferian. 18. vid. also in Eusebius, supr. p. 62, note f.

[d] οὐδὲν χρηματίζειν. The question between Catholics and Arians was

Disc. II.

3. What use then is this pretence[1] of saying that He is a creature and not a creature? for though ye shall say, Not as "one of the creatures," I will prove this sophism of yours to be a poor one. For still ye pronounce Him to be one of the creatures; and whatever a man might say of the other creatures, such ye hold concerning the Son, ye truly *fools and blind.* For is any one of the creatures just what another is[e], that ye should predicate this of the Son as some prerogative[f]? And all the visible creation was made in six days:—in the first, the light which He called day; in the second the firmament; in the third, gathering together the waters, He bared the dry land, and brought out the various fruits that are in it; and in the fourth, He made the sun and the moon and all the host of the stars; and on the fifth, He created the race of living things in the sea, and of birds in the air; and on the sixth, He made the quadrupeds on the earth, and at length man. And *the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made;* and neither the light is as the night, nor the sun as the moon; nor the irrational as rational man; nor the Angels as the Thrones, nor the Thrones as the Authorities, yet they are all creatures, but each of the things made according to its kind exists and remains in its own substance, as it was made. Let the

[1] ἀτοπία

Matt. 23, 19.

Rom. 1, 20.

§. 20.

whether our Lord was a true Son, or only *called* Son. "Since they whisper something about Word and Wisdom as only *names* of the Son, &c." ὀνόματα μόνον, supr. p. 25. where vid. note f. also p. 218, note a. And so "the title of Image is not a token of a similar substance, but His *name* only," supr. p. 210. and so infr. 38. where τοῖς ὀνόμασι is synonymous with κατ' ἐνέργειαν, as Sent. D. 22. f. a. Vid. also 39. b. Orat. iii. 11. c. 18. d. "not named Son, but ever Son," iv. 24. fin. Ep. Æg. 16. e. "We call Him so, and mean truly what we say; they say it, but do not confess it." Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 33. 4. vid. also γύμνοις ἄτερ ὀνόματι, Cyril. de Trin. ii. p. 418. Non hæc nuda nomina, Ambros. de Fid. i. 17. Yet, since the Sabellians equally failed here, also considering the Sonship as only a notion or title, vid. Orat. iv. 2. c. d. (where in contrast, "The Father is Father, and the Son Son," vid. supr. p. 211, note f.) 12. d. 23. a. 25. e. the word "real" was used as against *them*, and in opposition to ἀνυπόστατος λόγος, by the Arians, and in consequence failed as a test of orthodox teaching; e. g. by Arius, supr. p. 97. by Euseb. in Marc. pp. 19, d. 35, b. 161, c. by Asterius, infr. 37. by Palladius and Secundus in the Council of Aquileia ap. Ambros. Opp. t. 2. p. 791. (ed. Bened.) by Maximinus ap. August. contr. Max. i. 6.

[e] And so S. Ambrose, Quæ enim creatura non sicut alia creatura non est? Homo non ut Angelus, terra non ut cœlum. de Fid. i. n. 130. and a similar passage in Nyss. contr. Eun. iii. p. 132, 3.

[f] ἐξαίρετον. vid. infr. Orat. iii. 3. init. iv. 28. init. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. pp. 47. b. 73. b. 89. b. 124. a. 129. c. Theodor. Hist. p. 732. Nyss. contr. Eunom. iii. p. 133. a. Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 970. Cyril. Thes. p. 160.

Word then be excepted from the works, and as Creator be restored to the Father, and be confessed to be Son by nature; or if simply He be a creature, then let Him be assigned the same condition as the rest one with another, and let them as well as He be said every one of them to be "a creature, but not as one of the creatures, offspring or work, but not as one of the works or offsprings." For ye say that an offspring is the same as a work, writing "generated or made[c]." For though the Son excel the rest on a comparison, still a creature He is nevertheless, as they are; since in those which are by nature creatures one may find some excelling others. Star, for instance, differs from star in glory[1], and the rest have all of them their mutual differences when compared together; yet it follows not for all this that some are lords, and others servants to the superior, nor that some are efficient causes[2], others by them come into being, but all have a nature which comes to be and is created, confessing in their own selves their Framer:—as David says in the Psalms, *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy work;* and as Zorobabel the wise says, *All the earth calleth upon the Truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it.* CHAP. XVI. [1] supr. p. 263. [2] p. 310, note h. Ps. 19, 1. 1 Esdr. 4, 36.

4. But if the whole earth hymns the Framer and the Truth, and blesses, and fears it, and its Framer is the Word, and He Himself says, *I am the Truth*, it follows that the Word is not a creature, but alone proper to the Father, in whom all things are disposed, and He is celebrated by all, as Framer; for *I was by Him disposing;* and *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.* And the word *hitherto* shews His eternal existence in the Father as the Word; for it is proper to the Word to work the Father's works and not to be external to Him. But if what the Father worketh, that the Son worketh also[3], and what the Son createth, that is the §. 21. John 14, 6. Prov. 8, 30. Sept. John 5, 17. [3] Orat. iii. 11. note.

[c] *γεννήσεως ἢ ποιήσεως*; as if they were synonymous; in opposition to which the Nicene Creed says, *γεννήσεως οὐ ποιήσεως*. In like manner Arius in his letter to Eusebius uses the words, *πρὸν γεννηθῇ ἤτοι κτισθῇ, ἢ ὁρισθῇ, ἢ θεμελιωθῇ*, Theodor. Hist. p. 750. And to Alexander, *ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθεὶς καὶ θεμελιωθείς*. de Syn. 16. And Eusebius to Paulinus, *κτισθὲν καὶ θεμελιωθὲν καὶ γεννητόν* Theod. p. 752. The different words profess to be Scriptural, and to explain each other; "created" being in Prov. 8, 22. "made" in the passages considered in the last two chapters, "appointed" or "declared" in Rom. i. 4. and "founded" or "established" in Prov. 8, 23. which is discussed infr. 72. &c. vid. also 52.

Disc. II. creation of the Father, and yet the Son be the Father's work or creature, then either He will work His own self, and will be His own creator, (since what the Father worketh is the Son's work also,) which is absurd and impossible; or, in that He creates and worketh the things of the Father, He Himself is not a work nor a creature; for else being Himself an efficient cause[h], He may cause that to be in the case of things caused, which He Himself has become, or rather He may have no power to cause at all.

5. For how, if, as you hold, He is come of nothing, is He able to frame things that are nothing into being? or if He, a creature, withal frames a creature, the same will be conceivable in the case of every creature, viz. the power to frame others. And if this pleases you, what is the need of the Word, seeing that things inferior can be brought to be by things superior? or at all events, every thing that is brought to be could have heard in the beginning God's words, *Become* and *be made*, and so would have been framed. But this is not so written, nor could it be. For none of things which are brought to be is an efficient cause[h], but all things were made through the Word: who would not have wrought all things, were He Himself in the number of the creatures. For neither would the Angels be able to frame, since they too are creatures, though Valentinus, and Marcion, and Basilidas think so, and you are their copyists; nor will the sun, as being a creature, ever make what is not into what is; nor will man fashion man, nor stone devise stone, nor wood give growth to wood. But God is He who fashions man in the womb, and fixes the mountains, and increases wood; whereas man, as being capable of science, puts together and arranges that material, and works things that are, as he has learned; and is satisfied if they are but brought to be, and being conscious of what his nature is, §. 22. if he needs aught, knows to ask it of God[i]. If then God

[i] p. 17.

[h] ποιητικὸν αἴτιον, also, p. 309, r. 1. and infr. 27. and Orat. iii. 14. and contr. Gent. 9 init. No creature can create, vid. e. g. about Angels, August. de Civ. Dei xii. 24. de Trin. iii. 13—18. Damasc. F. O. ii. 3. Cyril in Julian, ii. p. 62. "Our reason rejects the idea that the Creator should be a creature, for creation is by the Creator." Hil. Trin. xii. 5. τῶς δύνασαι τὸ κτιζόμενον κτίζειν; ἢ πῶς ὁ κτίζων κτίζεται; Athan. ad Afros. 4 fin. Vid. also Serap. i. 24, 6. iii. 4, e. The Gnostics who attributed creation to Angels are alluded to infr. Orat. iii. 12. Epiph. Hær. 52. 53. 163, &c. Theodor. Hær. i. 1 and 3.

also wrought and compounded out of materials, this indeed is a gentile thought, according to which God is an artificer and not a Maker, but yet even in that case let the Word work the materials, at the bidding and in the service of God[1]. But if He calls into existence things which existed not by His proper Word, then the Word is not in the number of things non-existing and called; or we have to seek another Word[k], through whom He too was called; for by the Word the things which were not came to be.

6. And if through Him He creates and makes, He is not Himself of things created and made; but rather He is the Word of the Creator God, and is known from the Father's works which He Himself worketh, to be *in the Father and the Father in Him*, and *He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father*, because the Son's Substance is proper[1] to the Father, and He in all points like Him[l]. How then does He create through Him, unless it be His Word and His Wisdom? and how can He be Word and Wisdom, unless He be the

vid. John 14, 9. 10.

[1] τὸ ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας

[1] προστακτόμενος καὶ ὑπουργῶν. It is not quite clear that Athan. accepts these words in his own person, as has been assumed supr. p. 15, note d. p. 118, note n. Vid. de Decr. 7. and infr. 24. and 31, a. which, as far as they go, are against the use of the word. Also S. Basil objects to ὑπουργὸς contr. Eunom. ii. 21. and S. Cyril in Joan. p. 48. though S. Basil speaks of τὸν προστάττοντα λόγον, p. 246, note a. and S. Cyril of the Son's ὑπουργὴ, Thesaur. p. 255. Vid. "ministering, ὑπηρετοῦντα, to the Father of all." Just. Tryph. p. 72. "The Word become minister, ὑπηρέτης, of the Creator." Origen Hom. in Joan. p. 61. also Constit. Ap. viii. 12. but Pseudo-Athan. objects to ὑπηρετῶν, de Comm. Essent. 30. and Athan. apparently, infr. 28. Again, "Whom did He order, præcepit?" Iren. Hær. iii. 8. n. 3. "The Father bids, ἐντέλλεται, (allusion to Ps. 33, 9. vid. infr. 31.) the Word accomplishes.....He who commands, κελεύων, is the Father, He who obeys, ὑπακούων, the Son.....The Father willed, ἠθέλησεν, the Son did it." Hippol. contr. Noet. 14. on which vid. Fabricius's note. S. Hilary speaks of the Son as "subditus per obedientiæ obsequelam." de Syn. 51. Vid. pp. 323, 4. notes a, b, c. In the last of the three the principle is laid down of what is right and wrong in the use of these expressions.

[k] "If the Wisdom which is in the Father is other than the Lord, Wisdom came into being in Wisdom; and if God's Word is Wisdom, the Word too has come into being in a Word; and if God's Word is the Son, the Son too has been made in the Son." Ep. Æg. 14. vid. also supr. p. 13. and Orat. iii. 2. 64. And so S. Austin, "If the Word of God was Himself made, by what other Word was He made? If you say, that it is the Word of the Word, by whom that Word is made, this say I is the only Son of God. But if you say the Word of the Word, grant that He is not made by whom all things are made; for He could not be made by means of Himself, by whom are made all things." in Joan. Tract. i. 11. Vid. a parallel argument with reference to the Holy Spirit. Serap. i. 25. b.

[l] τὴν κατὰ πάντα ὁμοιότητα: vid. parallel instances, supr. p. 115, e. to which add, ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα, Orat. i. 40. κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, Ep. Æg. 17, c. τοῦ πατρὸς ὅμοιος, Orat. ii. 17. Orat. iii. 20, a. "not ὅμοιος, as the Church preaches, but ὡς αὐτὸ βίλουσι," (vid. Hist. Treat. tr. p. 266, note d.) also supra p. 155, note g.

Disc. II. proper offspring of His Substance[m], and did not come to be, as others, out of nothing? And whereas all things are from nothing, and are creatures, and the Son, as they say, is one of the creatures too, and of things which once were not, how does He alone reveal the Father, and none else but He know the Father? For could He, a work, possibly know the Father, then must the Father be also known by all according to the proportion of the measures[1] of each: for all of them are works as He is. But if it be impossible for things generate either to see or to know, for the sight and the knowledge of Him surpasses all, (since God Himself says, *No one shall see My face and live*,) yet the Son has declared, *No one knoweth the Father, save the Son*, therefore the Word is different from things generate, in that He alone knows and alone sees the Father, as He says, *Not that any one hath seen the Father, save He that is from the Father*, and *no one knoweth the Father save the Son*, though Arius think otherwise. How then did He alone know, except that He alone was proper to Him? and how proper, if He were a creature, and not a true Son from Him? (For one must not mind saying often the same thing for religion-sake.) Therefore it is irreligious to think that the Son is one of all things; and blasphemous and unmeaning to call Him "a creature, but not as one of the creatures, and a work, but not as one of the works, an offspring, but not as one of the offsprings;" for how not as one of these, if, as they say, He was not before His generation[2]? for it is proper to the creatures and works not to be before their generation, and to subsist out of nothing, even though they excel other creatures in glory; for this difference of one with another will be found in all creatures, which appears in those which are visible[3].

[1] vid. p. 95.

vid. Ex. 33, 20. Mat. 11, 27.

John 6, 46. not to the letter.

[2] vid. supr. 1. a. and p. 276.

[3] Greek text dislocated

[m] As Sonship is implied in "Image," (supr. p. 283, note d.) so it is implied in "Word" and "Wisdom;" For instance, "Especially is it absurd to name the Word, yet deny Him to be Son, for, if the Word be not from God, reasonably might they deny Him to be Son; but if He is from God, how see they not that what exists from any thing is son of him from whom it is?" Orat. iv. 15. Again, ἀεὶ θεὸς ἦν καὶ υἱὸς ἐστι, λόγος ὤν. Orat. iii. 29 init. υἱὸς τίς ἢ ὁ λόγος; de Decr. 17. And still more pointedly, εἰ μὴ υἱὸς, οὐδὲ λόγος, Orat. iv. 24 fin. vid. also supr. p. 221, note e. And so "Image" is implied in Sonship; "being Son of God He must be like Him," supr. 17. And so "Image" is implied in "Word;" ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἰκόνι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, infr. 82, d. also 34, c. On the contrary, the very root of heretical error was the denial that these titles implied each other, vid. supr. p. 27, note i. p. 41, note e.

CHAP. XVI. §. 23.

7. Moreover if, as the heretics hold, the Son were creature or work, but not as one of the creatures, because of His excelling them in glory, it were natural that Scripture should describe and display Him by a comparison in His favour with the other works; for instance, that it should say that He is greater than Archangels, and more honourable than the Thrones, and both brighter than sun and moon, and greater than the heavens. But it does not in fact thus describe Him; but the Father shews Him to be His own proper and only Son, saying, *Thou art My Son*, and *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Accordingly the Angels ministered unto Him, as being one beyond themselves; and they worship Him, not as being greater in glory, but as being some one beyond all the creatures, and beyond themselves, and alone the Father's proper Son according to substance[1]. For if He was worshipped as excelling them in glory, each of things subservient ought to worship what excels itself. But this is not the case[2]; for creature does not worship creature, but servant Lord, and creature God. Thus Peter the Apostle hinders Cornelius who would worship him, saying, *I myself also am a man.* And an Angel, when John would worship him in the Apocalypse, hinders him, saying, *See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the Prophets, and of them that keep the sayings of this book: worship God.* Therefore to God alone appertains worship, and this the very Angels know, that though they excel other beings in glory, yet they are all creatures and not to be worshipped[a],

Ps. 2, 7. Mat. 3, 17.

[1] vid. p. 16.

[2] vid. Orat. iii. 12.

Acts 10, 26.

Rev. 22, 9.

[a] "Worship" is a very wide term, and has obviously more senses than one. Thus we read in one passage of Scripture that "all the congregation... worshipped the Lord, and *the king*" [David]. S. Augustine, as S. Athanasius overleaf, makes the characteristic of divine worship to consist in sacrifice. "No one would venture to say that sacrifice was due to any but God. Many are the things taken from divine worship and transferred to human honours, either through excessive humility, or mischievous adulation; yet without giving us the notion that those to which they were transferred were not men. And these are said to be honoured and venerated; or were worshipped, if much is heaped upon them; but who ever thought that sacrifice was to be offered, except to Him whom the sacrificer knew or thought or pretended to be God?" August. de Civ. Dei, x. 4. "Whereas you have called so many dead men gods, why are ye indignant with us, who do but honour, not deify, the martyrs, as being God's martyrs and loving servants?... That they even offered libations to the dead, ye certainly know, who venture on the use of them by night contrary to the laws.... But we, O men, assign neither sacrifices nor even libations to the martyrs, but we honour them as men divine and divinely beloved." Theodor. contr. Gent. viii. pp. 908—910. It is observable that incense was burnt before the Imperial Statues, vid. Orat. iii. 5, note. Nebuchadnezzar offered an oblation to Daniel, after the interpretation of his dream.

Disc. II. but worship the Lord. Thus Manoe the father of Samson, wishing to offer sacrifice to the Angel, was thereupon hindered by him, saying, *Offer not to me, but to God.*

vid. Judg. 13, 16.

8. On the other hand, the Lord is worshipped even by the Angels; for it is written, *Let all the Angels of God worship Him;* and by all the Gentiles, as Esaias says, *The labour of Egypt and merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto Thee, and they shall be Thine;* and then, *they shall fall down unto Thee, and shall make supplication unto Thee, saying, Surely God is in Thee, and there is none else, there is no God.* And He accepts His disciples' worship, and certifies them who He is, saying, *Call ye Me not Lord and Master? and ye say well, for so I am.* And when Thomas said to Him, *My Lord and my God,* He allows his words, or rather accepts him instead of hindering him. For He is, as the other Prophets declare, and David says in the Psalm, *the Lord of hosts, the Lord of Sabaoth,* which is interpreted, *the Lord of Armies,* and God True and Almighty, though the Arians burst[o] at the tidings. But He had not been thus worshipped, nor been thus spoken of, were He a creature merely. But now since He is not a creature, but the proper offspring of the Substance of that God who is worshipped, and His Son by nature, therefore He is worshipped and is believed to be God, and is Lord of armies, and in authority, and Almighty, as the Father is; for He has said Himself, *All things, that the Father hath, are Mine.* For it is proper to the Son, to have the things of the Father, and to be such that the Father is seen in Him, and that through Him all things were made, and that the salvation of all comes to pass and consists in Him.

Heb. 1, 6. Is. 45, 14. John 13, 13. al. t. rec. John 20, 28.

§. 24. John 16, 15.

[o] διαῤῥηγνύωσιν ἑαυτούς. also ad Adelph. 8. and vid. supr. p. 29, note l. vid. also διαῤῥηγνύωνται, de Syn. 54. καὶ διαῤῥαγεῖεν, Marcell. ap. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 116. also p. 40. τρίζωσι τοὺς ὀδόντας, de Fug. 26. init. τριζότωσαν, ad Adelph. 8. Hist. Ar. 68. fin. and literally 72. a. κόπτεσθαι ἑαυτούς. In illud Omnia, 5.

See p. 306, in supra.

CHAP. XVII.

INTRODUCTION TO PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Absurdity of supposing a Son or Word created in order to the creation of other creatures; as to the creation being unable to bear God's immediate hand, God condescends to the lowest. Moreover, if the Son a creature, He too could not bear God's hand, and an infinite series of media will be necessary. Objected, that, as Moses who led out the Israelites was a man, so our Lord; but Moses was not the Agent in creation:—again, that unity is found in created ministrations, but all such ministrations are defective and dependent:—again, that He learned to create, yet could God's Wisdom need teaching? and why should He learn, if the Father worketh hitherto? If the Son was created to create us, He is for our sake, not we for His.

1. AND here it were well to ask them also this question[a], for a still clearer refutation of their heresy;—Wherefore, when all things are creatures, and all are brought into consistence from nothing, and the Son Himself, according to you, is creature and work, and once was not, wherefore has He made *all things through Him* alone, *and without Him was made not one thing?* or why is it, when *all things* are spoken of, that no one thinks the Son is signified in the number, but only things generate; whereas when Scripture speaks of the Word, it does not understand Him as being in the number of *all*, but places Him with the Father, as Him in whom providence and salvation for *all* are wrought and effected by the Father, though all things surely might at the same command have come to be, at which He was brought into being by God alone? For God is not wearied by commanding[1], nor is His strength unequal to the making of all things, that He should alone create the only Son[b], and need His ministry[2] and aid[2] John 1, 3.

[1] supr. p. 12.

[2] ὑπουργοῦ, as p. 12.

[a] These sections 34—36. are very similar to de Decr. 7, 8. supr. pp. 12—14. yet not in wording or order, as is the case with other passages.

[b] μόνος μόνου, also infr. 30. this phrase is synonymous with "not as one of the creatures," vid. μόνος ὑπὸ μόνου, supr. p. 12. also p. 62. note f. vid. μόνως, p. 116. note g. though that term is somewhat otherwise explained by S. Greg. Naz. μόνως οὐχ ὡς τὰ σώματα, Orat. 25, 16. Eunomius understood by μονογενὴς, not μόνος γεννηθεὶς but παρὰ μόνου. It should be observed, however, that this is a sense in which some of the Greek Fathers understand the term, thus contrasting generation with procession. vid. Petav. Trin. vii. 11. §. 3.

Disc. II. for the framing of the rest. For He lets nothing stand over, which He wills to be done; but He willed only[1], and all things subsisted, and no one *hath resisted His will.* Why then were not all things brought into being by God alone at that same command, at which the Son came into being? Or let them tell us, why did all things through Him come to be, who was Himself but generate?

[1] p. 320, r. 7. p. 324, note c. Rom. 9, 19.

2. How void of reason! however, they say concerning Him, that "God willing to create generate nature, when He saw that it could not endure the untempered[2] hand of the Father, and to be created by Him, makes and creates first and alone one only, and calls Him Son and Word, that, through Him as a medium, all things might thereupon be brought to be[c]." This they not only have said, but they have dared to put it into writing, namely, Eusebius, Arius, and Asterius who sacrificed[3]. §. 25. Is not this a full proof of that irreligion, with which they have drugged themselves with much madness, till they blush not to be intoxicate against the truth? For if they shall assign the toil of making all things as the reason why God made the Son only, the whole creation will cry out against them as saying unworthy things of God; and Esaias too who has said in Scripture, *The Everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary: there is no searching of His understanding.*

[2] ἀκράτου

[3] p. 13.

Is. 40, 28. vid. p. 12.

3. And if God made the Son alone, as not deigning to make the rest, but committed them to the Son as an assistant, this on the other hand is unworthy of God, for in Him there is no pride[4]. Nay the Lord reproves the thought, when He says, *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?* and *one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father which is in heaven.* And again, *Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them; are ye not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how*

[4] τύφος, as p. 12.

Mat. 10, Mat. 6, 25—30.

[c] Vid. de Decr. §. 8. supr. p. 13. also p. 523. Basil contr. Eunom. ii. 21. Cyril. Thesaur. pp. 150, 241. de Trin. vid. also infra 29. Orat. iv. 11, 12.

they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? If then it be not unworthy of God to exercise His providence, even down to things so small, a hair of the head, and a sparrow, and the grass of the field, also it was not unworthy of Him to make them. For what things are the subjects of His providence, of those He is Maker through His proper Word. Nay a worse absurdity lies before the men who thus speak; for they distinguish[1] between the creatures and the framing; and consider the latter the work of the Father, the creatures the work of the Son; whereas either all things must be brought to be by the Father with the Son, or if all that is generate comes to be through the Son, we must not call Him one of the generated things. CHAP. XVII.

[1] διαίρεσιν, as supr. p. 12. fin.

4. Next, their folly may be exposed thus:—if even the Word be of generated nature, how, whereas this nature is too feeble to be God's own handywork[2], He alone of all could endure to be made by the ingenerate and unmitigated[3] Substance of God, as ye say? for it follows either that, if He could endure it, all could endure it, or, it being endurable by none, it was not endurable by the Word, for you say that He is one of generate things. And again, if because generate nature could not endure to be God's own handywork, there arose need of a mediator[d], it must follow, that, the Word being generate and a creature, there is need of medium in His framing also, since He too is of that generate nature which endures not to be made of God, but needs a medium. But if some being as a medium be found for Him, then again a fresh mediator is needed for that second, and thus tracing back and following out, we shall invent a vast crowd of accumulating mediators; and thus it will be impossible that the creation should subsist, as ever wanting a mediator, and that medium not coming into being without another mediator; for all of them §. 26.

[2] ἀδυναμίαν, and so ἀδυναμῆτον, supr. p. 12—14.

[3] ἀκρωτάτης, most pure, or absolute

[d] Vid. p. 13. vid. also a similar argument in Epiphanius Hær. 76. p. 951. but the arguments of Ath. in these Orations are so generally adopted by the succeeding Fathers, that it is impossible and needless to enumerate the instances of agreement.

Disc. II. will be of that generate nature which endures not to be made of God alone, as ye say. How abundant is that folly, which obliges them to hold that what has already come into being, admits not of coming! Or perhaps they opine that they have not even come to be, as still seeking their mediator; for, on the ground of their so irreligious and futile notion[1], what is would not have subsistence, for want of the medium.

[1] and so de Decr. 8. c.

§. 27. 5. But again they allege this:—"Behold, through Moses too did He lead the people from Egypt, and through him He gave the Law, yet he was a man; so that it is possible for like to be brought into being by like." They should veil their face when they say this, to save their much shame. For Moses was not sent to frame the world, nor to call into being things which were not, or to fashion men like himself, but only to be the minister of words to the people, and to King Pharaoh. And this is a very different thing, for to minister is of things generate as of servants, but to frame and to create is of God alone, and of His proper Word and His Wisdom. Wherefore, in the matter of framing, we shall find none but God's Word; for *all things are made in Wisdom*, and *without the Word was made not one thing*. But as regards ministrations there are, not one only, but many out of their whole number, whomever the Lord will send. For there are many Archangels, many Thrones, and Authorities, and Dominions, thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, standing before Him[2], ministering and ready to be sent. And many Prophets, and twelve Apostles, and Paul. And Moses himself was not alone, but Aaron with him, and next other seventy were filled with the Holy Ghost. And Moses was succeeded by Jesus the son of Nave, and he by the Judges, and they by, not one, but by a number of Kings. If then the Son were a creature and one of things generate, there must have been many such sons, that God might have many such ministers, just as there is a multitude of those others. But if this is not to be seen, but the creatures are many, but the Word one, any one will collect from this, that the Son differs from all, and is not on a level with the creatures, but is proper[3] to the Father. Hence there are not many Words, but one only Word of the one Father, and one Image of the one God[4].

[2] p. 268. and Ambros. de Fid. iii. 106.

[3] ἴδιος

[4] p. 331, note p.

6. "But behold," they say, "there is but one sun[1] and one earth." Let them maintain, senseless as they are, that there is one water and one fire, and then they may be told that every thing that is brought to be, is one in its own substance[2], but for the ministry and service committed to it, by itself it is not adequate nor sufficient alone. For God said, *Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years.* And then he says, *And God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: He made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night.* Behold there are many lights, and not the sun only, nor the moon only, but each is one in substance, and yet the service of all is one and common; and what each lacks, is supplied by the other, and the office of lighting is performed by all[3]. Thus the sun has authority to shine throughout the day and no more; and the moon through the night; and the stars together with them accomplish the seasons and years, and become for signs, each according to the need that calls for it. Thus too the earth is not for all things, but for the fruits only, and to be a ground to tread on for the living things that inhabit it. And the firmament is to divide between waters and waters, and to be a place to set the stars in. So also fire and water, with other things, have been brought into being to be the constituent parts of bodies; and in short no one thing is alone, but all things that are made, as if members of each other, make up as it were one body, namely, the world. If then they thus conceive of the Son, let all men throw stones[4] at them, considering the Word to be a part of this universe, and a part insufficient without the rest for the service committed to Him. But if this be manifestly irreligious, let them acknowledge that the Word is not in the number of things generate, but the sole and proper Word of the Father, and their Framer.

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[1] vid. Euseb. Demon. iv. 5 fin.

[2] supr. p. 308. Gen. 1, 14—18.

§. 28.

[3] p. 349.

[4] p. 53, note f. p. 286. note f.

[5] Cyril. in Joan. p. 47, c.

7. "But," say they, "though He is a creature and of things generate; yet as from a master and artificer has He learned[5] to frame, and thus ministered[6] to God who taught Him." For thus the Sophist Asterius, having learned to deny the Lord,

[6] *διηκέτησε*, vid. supr. p. 311, note i.

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has dared to write, not observing the absurdity[1] which follows. For if framing be a thing to be taught, let them beware lest they say that God Himself be a Framer not by nature but by science, so as to admit of His losing the power. Besides, if the Wisdom of God attained to frame by teaching, how is He still Wisdom, when He needs to learn? and what was He before He learned? For it was not Wisdom, if it needed teaching; it was surely but some empty thing, and not Wisdom in substance[2], but from advancement[3] it had the name of Wisdom, and will be only so long Wisdom as it can keep what it has learned. For what has accrued not by any nature, but from learning, admits of being one time unlearned. But to speak thus of the Word of God, is not the part of Christians, but of Greeks. For if the power of framing accrues to any one from teaching, these insensate men are ascribing jealousy and weakness[4] to God;—jealousy, in that He has not taught many how to frame, so that there may be around Him, as Archangels and Angels many, so framers many; and weakness, in that He could not make by Himself, but needed a fellow-worker, or under-worker[5]; and that, though it has been already shewn that generate nature admits of being made by God alone, since they consider the Son to be of such a nature and so made. But God is deficient in nothing: perish the thought! for He has said Himself, *I am full.* Nor did the Word become Framer of all from teaching; but being the Image and Wisdom of the Father, He does the things of the Father. Nor hath He made the Son for the making of things generate; for behold, though the Son exists, still[6] the Father is seen to work, as the Lord Himself says, *My Father worketh hitherto and I work.* If however, as you say, the Son came into being for the purpose of making the things after Him, and yet the Father is seen to work even after the Son, you must hold even in this light the making of such a Son to be superfluous. Besides, why, when He would create us, does He seek for a mediator at all, as if His will did not suffice to constitute whatever seemed good to Him? Yet the Scriptures say, *He hath done whatsoever pleased Him,* and *Who hath resisted His will?* And if His mere will[7] is sufficient for the framing of all things, you make the office of a mediator superfluous; for your

[1] ἀλογίαν p. 325, note e.

[2] οὐσιωδὴς σοφία. vid. Orat. iv. 1.

[3] προκοπῇ p. 16, note i.

§. 29.

[4] supr. p. 217.

[5] συνεργοῦ, ὑπουργοῦ vid. p. 12.

Is. 1, 11.

[6] πάλιν, vid. p. 203, note d. Serap. ii. 2. fin.

John 5, 17.

Ps. 115, 3. Rom. 9, 19.

[7] p. 316, r. 1.

instance of Moses, and the sun and the moon has been shewn not to hold. CHAP. XVII.

8. And here again is an argument to silence you. You say that God, willing the creation of generate nature, and deliberating concerning it, designs and creates the Son, that through Him He may frame us; now, if so, consider how great an irreligion[1] you have dared to utter. First, the Son appears rather to have been for us brought to be, than we for Him; for we were not created for Him, but He is made for us[2]; so that He owes thanks to us, not we to Him, as the woman to the man. *For the man*, says Scripture, *was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man.* Therefore, as *the man is the image and glory of God, and the woman the glory of the man*, so we are made God's image and to His glory; but the Son is our image, and exists for our glory. And we were brought into being that we might be; but God's Word was made, as you must hold, not that He might be[3], but as an instrument[4] for our need, so that not we from Him, but He is constituted from our need. Are not men who even conceive such thoughts, more than insensate? For if for us the Word was made, He has not precedence[5] of us with God; for He did not take counsel about us having Him within Him, but having us in Himself, counselled, as they say, concerning His own Word. But if so, perchance the Father had not even a will for the Son at all; for not as having a will for Him, did He create Him, but with a will for us, He formed Him for our sake; for He designed Him after designing us; so that, according to these irreligious men, henceforth the Son, who was made as an instrument, is superfluous, now that they are made for whom He was created.

[1] p. 1, note a. p. 364, note b.

§. 30.

[2] vid. Orat. iv. 11. 1 Cor. 11, 9. v. 7.

[3] cf. infr. ch. 20.

[4] ὑργανον, supr. p. 217, note d.

[5] πρώτος ἡμῶν, p. 370, note n.

9. But if the Son alone was made by God alone, because He could endure it, but we, because we could not, were made by the Word, why does He not first take counsel about the Word, who could endure His making, instead of taking counsel about us? or why does He not make more of Him who was strong, than of us who were weak? or why making Him first, does He not counsel[6] about Him first? or why counselling about us first, does He not make us first, His will[7] being sufficient for the constitution of all things? But He creates Him

[6] βουλεύεται.

[7] βούλημα p. 320, r. 7.

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[a] *ἔμετοι καὶ ναυτίαι*; *ναυτία* sea-sickness; as to *ἔμετοι*, (for which vid. supr. p. 98, §. 16. fin. p. 232, r. 3. &c.) the word, according to Cressol de Theatr. Rhet. iii. 11. has a technical meaning, when used of disputation or oratory, and denotes *extempore* delivery as contrasted with compositions on which pains have been bestowed. And this agrees with what Athan. frequently observes about the Arians, as saying what came uppermost to serve their purpose with no care of consistency. Thus S. Greg. Nyss. says of Eunomius, "All such things are poured forth, *ἐκπίπτει*, by this writer without reflection (*ἀναλόγως*,)" in Eunom. ix. p. 250, d. And in a parallel case Synesius, "He does not cherish the word within, who is forced to pour forth daily, *ἐμεῖν*." Dion. p. 56, ed. 1612. And Epictetus, in a somewhat similar sense, "There is great danger of pouring forth straightway, what one has not digested." Enchirid. 46. vid. also Dissert. iii. 21. A different allusion of course is contained in the word *ἐξέραμα*, e. g. p. 281. which is taken from 2 Pet. 2, 22.

See p. 306, margin.

CHAP. XVIII.

INTRODUCTION TO PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Contrast between the Father's operations immediately and naturally in the Son, instrumentally by the creatures; Scripture terms illustrative of this. Explanation of these illustrations; which should be interpreted by the doctrine of the Church; perverse sense put on them by the Arians, refuted. Mystery of Divine Generation. Contrast between God's Word and man's word drawn out at length. Asterius betrayed into holding two Ingenerates; his inconsistency. Baptism how by the Son as well as by the Father. On the Baptism of heretics. Why Arian worse than other heresies.

1. BUT the sentiment of Truth[1] in this matter must not be hidden, but must have high utterance. For the Word of God was not made for us, but rather we for Him, and *in Him all things were created.* Nor for that we were weak, was He strong and made by the Father alone, that He might frame us by means of Him as an instrument; perish the thought! it is not so. For though it had seemed good to God not to make things generate, still had the Word been no less with God, and the Father in Him. At the same time, things generate could not without the Word be brought to be; hence they were made through Him,—and reasonably. For since the Word is the Son of God by nature proper to His substance, and is from Him, and in Him[2], as He said Himself, the creatures could not have come to be, except through Him. For as the light enlightens all things by its radiance, and without its radiance nothing would be illuminated, so also the Father, as by a hand[a], in the Word wrought all things, and

§. 31.

[1] p. 328, note l. Col. 1, 16.

[2] vid. supr. p. 140, note n.

[a] ὡς διὰ χειρός. vid. supr. p. 12. note z. And so in Orat. iv. 26, a. de Incarn. contr. Arian. 12, a. κρατιὰ χεὶρ τοῦ πατρός. Method. de Creat. ap. Phot. cod. 235. p. 937. Iren. Hær. iv. 20. n. 1. v. 1 fin. and 5. n. 2. and 6. n. 1. Clement. Protrept. p. 93. (ed. Potter.) Tertull. contr. Hermog. 45. Cypr. Testim. ii. 4. Euseb. in Psalm. cviii. 27. Clement. Recogn. viii. 43. Clement. Hom. xvi. 12. Cyril. Alex. frequently, e. g. in Joan. pp. 876, 7. Thesaur. p. 154. Pseudo-Basil. χεὶρ δημιουργική, contr. Eunom. v. p. 297. Job. ap. Phot. 222. p. 582. and August. in Joann. 48, 7. though he prefers another use of the word.

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without Him makes nothing. For instance, God said, as Moses relates, *Let there be light*, and *Let the waters be gathered together*, and *let the dry land appear*, and *Let Us make man;* as also Holy David in the Psalm, *He spake and it was done; He commanded and it stood fast.* And He spoke[b], not that, as in the case of men, some under-worker[1] might hear, and learning the will of Him who spoke might go away and do it; for this is what is proper to creatures, but it is unseemly so to think or speak of the Word. For the Word of God is Framer and Maker, and He is the Father's Will[c]. Hence it is that divine Scripture says not that one heard and answered, as to the manner or nature of the things which He wished made; but God only said, *Let it become*, and he adds, *And it became;* for what He thought good and counselled, that forthwith the Word began to do and to finish.

Gen. 1, 3, 9, 26. Ps. 33, 9.

[1] ὑπουργός.

2. For when God commands others, whether the Angels, or converses with Moses, or promises Abraham, then the hearer answers; and the one says, *Whereby shall I know?* and the other, *Send some one else;* and again, *If they ask me, what is His Name, what shall I say to them?* and the Angel said to Zacharias, *Thus saith the Lord;* and he asked the Lord, *O Lord of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem?* and waits to hear good words and comfortable. For each of these has the Mediator[2] Word, and the Wisdom of God which makes known the will of the Father. But when that Word Himself works and creates, then there is no questioning and answer, for the Father is in Him and the Word in the Father;

Gen. 15, 8. Ex. 4, 13. Ex. 3, 13. Zech. 1, 17. v. 12.

[2] vid. p. 292, note m. p. 303, note e.

[b] Vid. de Decr. 9. supr. p. 15. contr. Gent. 46. Iren. Hær. iii. 8. n. 3. Origen contr. Cels. ii. 9. Tertull. adv. Prax. 12. fin. Patres Antioch. ap. Routh t. 2. p. 468. Prosper in Psalm. 148. (149.) Basil. de Sp. S. n. 20. Hilar. Trin. iv. 16. vid. supr. p. 118, note n. p. 311. note i. "That the Father speaks and the Son hears, or contrariwise, that the Son speaks and the Father hears, are expressions for the sameness of nature and the agreement of Father and Son." Didym. de Sp. S. 36. "The Father's bidding is not other than His Word; so that 'I have not spoken of Myself' He perhaps meant to be equivalent to 'I was not born from Myself.' For if the Word of the Father speaks, He pronounces Himself, for He is the Father's Word, &c." August. de Trin. i. 26. On this mystery vid. Petav. Trin. vi. 4.

[c] βουλή. And so βούλησις presently; and ζῶσα βουλὴ, supr. 2. and Orat. iii. 63. fin. and so Cyril Thes. p. 54. who uses it expressly, (as it is always used by implication,) in contrast to the κατὰ βούλησιν of the Arians, though Athan. uses κατὰ τὸ βούλημα, e. g. Orat. iii. 31. where vid. note; αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς θέλημα. Nyss. contr. Eunom. xii. p. 345. The principle to be observed in the use of such words is this; that we must ever speak of the Father's will, command, &c. and the Son's fulfilment, assent, &c. as one act. vid. notes on Orat. iii. 11 and 15. infr.

but it suffices to will, and the work is done; so that the word *He said* is a token of the will for our sake, and *It was so,* denotes the work which is done through the Word and the Wisdom, in which Wisdom also is the Will of the Father. And *God said* is explained in *the Word,* for, he says, *Thou hast made all things in Wisdom;* and *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made;* and *There is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him.* CHAP. XVIII. Ps. 104, 24. Ps. 33, 6. 1 Cor. 8, 6.

3. It is plain from this that the Arians are not fighting with us about their heresy; but while they pretend us, their real fight is against the Godhead Itself. For if the voice were ours which says, *This is My Son,* small were our complaint of them; but if it is the Father's voice, and the disciples heard it, and the Son too says of Himself, *Before all the mountains He begat Me,* are they not fighting against God, as the giants[d] in story, having their tongue, as the Psalmist says, a sharp sword for irreligion? For they neither feared the voice of the Father, nor reverenced the Saviour's words, nor trusted the Saints[1], one of whom writes, *Who being the Brightness of His glory and the Expression of His subsistence,* and *Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God;* and another says in the Psalm, *With Thee is the well of life, and in Thy Light shall we see light,* and *Thou hast made all things in Wisdom;* and the Prophets say, *And the Word of the Lord came to me;* and John, *In the beginning was the Word;* and Luke, *As they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word;* and as David again says, *He sent His Word and healed them.* All these passages proscribe in every light the Arian heresy, and signify the eternity of the Word, and that He is not foreign but proper to the Father's Substance. For when saw any one light without radiance? or who dares to say that the expression can be different from the subsistence? or has not a man lost his mind[e] himself who even entertains the thought that God was ever without Reason and without Wisdom? §. 32. vid. Mat. 17, 5. Prov. 8, 25. Sept. Ps. 57, 5. [1] or sacred writers, ἅγιον, Heb. 1, 3. 1 Cor. 1, 24. Ps. 36, 9. Ps. 104, 24. Jer. 2, 1. John 1, 1. Luke 1, 2. Ps. 107, 20.

[d] τοὺς μυθευομένους γίγαντας, vid. supr. p. 58, note m. Also ὡς τοὺς γίγαντας, Orat. iii. 42. In Hist. Arian. 74. he calls Constantius a γίγας. The same idea is implied in the word θεομάχος so frequently applied to Arianism, as in this sentence. vid. supr. p. 6, note n.

[e] Vid. p. 2, note e. also Gent. 40 fin. where what is here, as commonly, applied to the Arians, is, before the rise of Arianism, applied to unbelievers.

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4. For such illustrations and such images has Scripture proposed, that, considering the inability of human nature to comprehend God, we might be able to form ideas even from these however poorly and dimly[1], as far as is attainable[f]. And as the creation contains abundant matter for the knowledge of the being of a God and a Providence, (*for by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen,*) and we learn from them without asking for voices, but hearing the Scriptures we believe, and surveying the very order and the harmony of all things, we acknowledge that He is Maker and Lord and God of all, and apprehend His marvellous providence and governance over all things; so in like manner about the Son's Godhead, what has been above said is sufficient, and it becomes superfluous, or rather it is very mad to dispute about it, or to ask in an heretical way, How can the Son be from eternity? or how can He be from the Father's Substance, yet not a part? since what is said to be of another, is a part of him; and what is divided, §. 33. is not whole. These are the evil sophistries of the heterodox; yet, though we have already shewn their shallowness, the exact sense of these passages themselves and the force of these illustrations will serve to shew the baseless nature of their loathsome[2] tenet.

[1] ἀμυδρῶς p. 304, r. 2. Wisd. 13, 5.

[2] μιαροῦ

5. For we see that reason[3] is ever, and is from him and proper to his substance, whose reason it is, and does not admit a before and an after. So again we see that the radiance from the sun is proper to it, and the sun's substance is not divided or impaired; but its substance is whole and its radiance perfect and whole[g], yet without impairing the

[3] τὸν λόγον

[f] Vid. supr. p. 25, note c. p. 140, note n. p. 219, note b. p. 330, note m. Also supr. p. 20. Elsewhere after adducing the illustration of the sun and its light he adds, "From things familiar and ordinary we may use some poor illustration and represent intellectually what is in our mind, since it were presumptuous to intrude upon the incomprehensible Nature." In illud Omnia 3. fin. vid. also 6. And S. Austin, after an illustration from the nature of the human mind proceeds, "Far other are these three and that Trinity. When a man hath discovered something in them and stated it, let him not at once suppose that he has discovered what is above them, &c." Confess. xiii. 11. And again, Ne hunc imaginem ita comparet Trinitati, ut omni modo existimet similem. Trin. xv. 39. And S. Basil says, "Let no one urge against what I say, that the illustrations do not in all respects answer to the matters in question. For it is not possible to apply with exactness what is little and low to things divine and eternal, except so far as to refute, &c." contr. Eunom. ii. 17.

[g] The Second Person in the Holy Trinity is not a quality or attribute or relation, but the One Eternal Substance; not a part of the First Person, but whole or entire God; nor does the

substance of light, but as a true offspring from it. We understand in like manner that the Son is begotten not from without but ~~from~~ the Father, and while the Father remains whole, the Expression of His Subsistence is ever, and preserves the Father's likeness and unvarying Image, so that he who sees Him, sees in Him the Subsistence too, of which He is the Expression. And from the operation[1] of the Expression we understand the true Godhead of the Subsistence, as the Saviour Himself teaches when He says, *The Father who dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works* which I do; and *I and the Father are one*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me.* Therefore let this Christ-opposing heresy attempt first to divide[2] the examples found in things generate, and say, "Once the sun was without his radiance," or, "Radiance is not proper to the substance of light," or "It is indeed proper, but it is a part of light by division;" and then let it divide[2] Reason, and pronounce that it is foreign to mind, or that once it was not, or that it is not proper to its substance, or that it is by division a part of mind. And so of His Expression and the Light and the Power, let it be violent with these as in the case of Reason and Radiance; and instead let it imagine what it will[3]. But if such extravagance be impossible for them, are they not greatly beside themselves, presumptuously intruding into what is higher than things generate and their own nature, and essaying impossibilities[4]?

[1] ἐνεργείας

John 14, 10. John 10, 30.

[2] διαλεῖν, vid. p. 317, r. 1.

[3] Hist. Treat. tr. p. 266, note d.

[4] In illud Omn. 6. init. §. 34.

6. For if in the case of these generate and irrational things offsprings are found which are not parts of the substances from which they are, nor subsist with passion, nor impair the substances of their originals, are they not mad again in seeking and conjecturing parts and passions in the instance of the immaterial and true God, and ascribing divisions to Him who is beyond passion and change, thereby to perplex the ears of the simple[5] and to pervert them from the Truth? for who hears of a son but conceives of that which is proper

[5] ἀκοὰς ἀκεραιοστέρων. Hist. Treat. tr. p. 299, notes f. and g.

generation impair the Father's Substance, which is, antecedently to it, whole and entire God. Thus there are two Persons, in Each Other ineffably, Each being wholly one and the same Divine Substance, yet not being merely separate aspects of the Same, Each being God as absolutely as if there were no other Divine Person but Himself. Such a statement indeed is not only a contradiction in the terms used, but in our ideas, yet not therefore a contradiction in fact; unless indeed any one will say that human words can express in one formula, or human thought embrace in one idea, the unknown and infinite God. Basil. contr. Eun. i. 10. vid. infr. p. 333, note u.

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to the father's substance? who heard, in his first catechising[1], that God has a Son and has made all things by His proper Word, but understood. it in that sense in which we now mean it? who on the rise of this odious heresy of the Arians, was not at once startled at what he heard, as strange[h], and a second sowing besides that Word which had been sown from the beginning? For what is sown in every soul from the begining is that God has a Son, the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, that is, His Image and Radiance; from which it at once follows that He is always; that He is from the Father; that He is like; that He is the eternal offspring of His substance; and there is no idea involved in these of creature or work. But when the man who is an enemy, while men slept, made a second sowing[i], of "He is a creature," and "There was once when He was not," and "How can it be?" thenceforth the wicked heresy of Christ's enemies rose as tares, and forthwith, as bereft of every orthodox thought, as robbers, they go about[k] and venture to say, "How can the Son always exist with the Father?" for men come of men and are sons, after a time; and the father is thirty years old, when the son begins to be, being begotten; and in short of every son of man, it is true that he was not before his generation[2]." And again they whisper, "How can the Son be Word, or the Word be God's Image? for the word of men is composed of syllables[3], and only signifies the speaker's will, and then is over[4] and is lost."

7. They then afresh, as if forgetting the proofs which have been already urged against them, *pierce themselves through* with these bonds of irreligion, and thus argue. But the word of truth[l]

[1] p. 12, note y. p. 76, note i. p. 191, r. l.

[2] p. 276.

[3] Orat. iv. 1.

[4] σίναυται, Orat. iv. 2.

§. 35. vid. 1 Tim. 6, 10.

[h] He here makes the test of the truth of explicit doctrinal statements to lie in their not shocking, or their answering to the religious sense of the Christian.

[i] Vid. supr. p. 5, note k. Tertullian uses the image in a similar but higher sense when he applies it to Eve's temptation, and goes on to contrast it with Christ's birth from a Virgin. In virginem adhuc Evam irrepserat verbum ædificatorium mortis; in Virginem æque introducendum erat Dei Verbum exstructorium vitæ.... Ut in doloribus pareret, verbum diaboli semen illi fuit; contra Maria, &c. de Carn. Christ. 17. S. Leo, as Athan. makes "seed" in the parable apply peculiarly to *faith* in distinction to *obedience*. Serm. 69. 5 init.

[k] περιεργάζονται, Edd. Col. Ben. and Patav. This seems an error of the press for περιέχονται. The Latin translates "circumire cæperunt." vid. supr. p. 22, note g. p. 178, note c. also περιέχονται, infr. 63 init. ἐνεπαιτώσαντι καὶ σιδηρᾶσαντι, 82. ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιέτρεχε, Orat. iii. 54 init. ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιέτρεχε διάβολος, Apol. contr. Ar. 11 init. περιστρέφουσι, de Fug. 2. περιφέρουσι, infr. 43. περιτροχάζων, Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 730. περιεργία, &c. is used Orat. iii. 1, a. 43 init.

[l] ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος ἐλέγχει. This and the like are usual forms of speech with Athan. and others. Thus ὡς ὁ τῆς

confutes them as follows:—if they were disputing concerning any man, then let them exercise reason in this human way, both concerning His Word and His Son; but if of God who created man, no longer let them entertain human thoughts, but others which are above human nature. For such as is the parent, such of necessity is the offspring; and such as is the Word's Father, such must be also His Word. Now man, begotten in time, in time[1] also Himself begets the child; and whereas from nothing he came to be, therefore his word[m] also is over[2] and continues not. But God is not as man, as Scripture has said; but is existing[3] and is ever; therefore also His Word is existing[4] and is everlastingly with the Father, as radiance from light. And man's word is composed of syllables[5], and neither lives nor operates any thing, but is only significant of the speaker's intention, and does but go forth and go by, no more to appear, since it was not at all before it was spoken; wherefore the word of man neither lives nor operates any thing, nor in short is man. And this happens to it, as I said before, because man who begets it, has his nature out of nothing. But God's Word is not merely pronounced[6], as one may say, nor a sound of accents, nor by His Son is meant His command[7]; but as radiance from light, so is He perfect offspring from perfect[8]. Hence He is God also, as being God's Image; for *the Word was God*, says Scripture. And man's words avail not for operation; hence man works not by means of words but of hands, for they have being, and man's word subsists not. But the *Word of God*,

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[1] p. 211.

[2] παύεται, p. 328, r. 4.

[3] ὢν ἐστι, vid. de Decr. p. 17, r. 3.

[4] vid. Serap. i. 28, a.

[5] p. 328. r. 3.

[6] προφορικός p. 324, note b.

[7] vid. p. 108. note l. p. 331, note p.

[8] John 1, 1. Heb. 4, 12. 13.

ἀλ. ἀπήγτει λ. Ap. contr. Ar. 36. where it is contrasted to ὡς ἤθελον, (vid. Hist. Treat. tr. p. 266, note d.) also Serap. ii. 2. Epiphanius; ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ. ἀντεστέτευ αὐτῷ, p. 830. Eusebius; ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ βοᾷ. Eccl. Theol. i. p. 62. d. ἀντιφθέγξεται αὐτῷ μέγα βοῶσας, ὁ τῆς ἀλ. λ. ibid. iii. p. 164. b. And Council of Sardica; κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀλ. λ ap. Athan. Apol. contr. Ar. 46. where it seems equivalent to "fairness" or "impartiality." Asterius; οἱ τῆς ἀλ. ἀκριβέστατοι λογισμοί, infr. 37. Orat. i. 32. de Syn. 18. cir. fin. and so Athan. τοῖς ἀλ λογισμοῖς. Sent. D. 19, c. And so also, ἡ ἀλ διηλέγξι, supr. 18, c. ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ ἀλ. "draw the meaning to themselves," supr. 5. init. τοῦ λόγου διανύοντες, 3. init. διάνυσιν ὁ λόγος, 13 fin. τῆς ἀλ. διδάσκης, infr. 65. init. 60. d. ἰλίγχονται παρὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, 63. c. ἡ ἀλήθεια διάνυσι. 70. init. τῆς ἀλ. μαρτυρησάσης, 1. init. τὸ τῆς ἀλ. φρόνημα μεγαληγορεῖν πρεπεῖ, 31. init. de Decr. 17 fin. In some of these instances the words ἀλήθεια, λόγος, &c. are almost synonymous with the Regula Fidei; vid. παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, infr. 36. a. and Origen de Princ. Præf. 1 and 2.

[m] For this contrast between the Divine Word and the human which is Its shadow, vid. also Orat. iv. 1. circ. fin. Iren. Hær. ii. 13. n. 8. Origen. in Joan. i. p. 25. e. Euseb. Demonstr. v. 5. p. 230. Cyril, Cat. xi. 10. Basil, Hom. xvi. 3. Nyssen contr. Eunom. xii. p. 350. Orat. Cat. i. p. 478. Damasc. F. O. i. 6. August. in Psalm. 44. 5.

Disc. II. as the Apostle says, *is living and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in His sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him with* John 1, 3. *whom we have to do.* He is then Framer of all, *and without Him was made not one thing*, nor can any thing be made without Him.

§. 36. 8. Nor must we ask why the Word of God is not such as our word, considering God is not such as we, as has been before said; nor again is it right to seek how the word is from God, or how He is God's radiance, or how God begets, and what is the manner of His begetting[n]. For a man must be beside itself to venture on such points; since a thing ineffable and proper to God's nature, and known to Him alone and to the Son, this he demands to be explained in words. It is all one as if they sought where God is, and how God is, and of what nature the Father is. But as to ask such questions is irreligious, and argues an ignorance of God, so it is not holy to venture such questions concerning the generation of the Son of God, nor to measure God and His Wisdom by our own nature and infirmity. Nor is a person at liberty on that account to swerve in his thoughts from the truth, nor, if any one is perplexed in such inquiries, ought he to disbelieve what is written. For it is better in perplexity to be silent and believe, than to disbelieve on account of the perplexity: for he who is perplexed may in some way obtain mercy[o],

[n] Eusebius has some forcible remarks on this subject in his Eccl. Theol., though he converts them to an heretical purpose. As, he says, we do not know how God can create out of nothing, so we are utterly ignorant of the Divine Generation. We do not understand innumerable things which lie close to us; how the soul is joined to the body, how it enters and leaves it, what its nature, what the nature of Angels. It is written, He who believes, not he who knows, has eternal life. Divine generation is as distinct from human, as God from man. The sun's radiance itself is but an earthly image, and gives us no true idea of that which is above all images. Eccl. Theol. i. 12. So has S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 29. 8. vid. also Hippol. in Noet. 16. Cyril, Cat. xi. 11. and 19. and Origen, according to Mosheim, Ante Const. p. 619. And instances in Petav. de Trin. v. 6. §. 2. and 3.

[o] "They who do not pertinaciously defend their opinion, false and perverse though it be, especially when it does not spring from the audacity of their own presumption, but has come to them from parents seduced and lapsed into error, while they seek the truth with cautious solicitude, and are prepared to correct themselves when they have found it, are by no means to be ranked among heretics." August. Ep. 43. init. vid. also de Bapt. contr. Don. iv. 23.

because, though he has questioned, he has yet kept quiet; but when a man is led by his perplexity into forming for himself doctrines which beseem not, and utters what is unworthy of God, such daring incurs a sentence without mercy. For in such perplexities divine Scripture is able to afford him some relief, so as to take rightly what is written, and to dwell upon our word as an illustration; that as it is proper to us and is from us, and not a work[1] external to us, so also God's Word[t] ἴδιον is proper to Him and from Him, and is not a work[2]; and yet[2] ποίημα is not like the word of man, or else we must suppose God to be man. CHAP. XVIII.

9. For observe, many and various are men's words which pass away day by day; because those that come before others continue not, but vanish. Now this happens because their authors[3] are men, and have seasons which pass away, and[3] πανείς ideas which are successive; and what strikes them first and second, that they utter; so that they have many words, and yet after them all nothing at all remaining; for the speaker ceases, and his word forthwith perishes. But God's Word is one and the same, and, as it is written, *The Word of God endureth for ever*, not changed, not before or after other, but existing the same always. For it was fitting, whereas God is One, that His Image should be One also, and His Word One, and One His Wisdom[p]. Wherefore I am in wonder how, whereas God is One, these men introduce, after their private notions[4], many images and wisdoms and words[q], and say that the Father's proper and natural Word is other than the Son, by whom He even made the Son[r], and that vide Ps. 119, 89. §. 37. [4] ἰδιοποιίας

[p] vid. supr. 35. Orat. iv. 1. also presently, "He is likeness and image of the sole and true God, being Himself sole also," 49. μόνος ἐν μόνῳ, Orat. iii. 21. ὅλος ὅλου εἰκών. Sarap. i. 16, a. "The Offspring of the Ingenerate," says St. Hilary, "is One from One, True from True, Living from Living, Perfect from Perfect, Power of Power, Wisdom of Wisdom, Glory of Glory." de Trin. ii. 8. τέλειος τελείου γεγέννηκεν, πνεῦμα πνεύματος. Epiph. Hær. p. 495. "As Light from Light, and Life from Life, and Good from Good; so from Eternal Eternal. Nyss. contr. Eunom. i. p. 164. App.

[q] πολλοὶ λόγοι, vid. supr. p. 26, note g. infr. 39 init. and οὐδ' ἐν πολλῶν ὄν, Sent. D. 25. a. also Ep. Æg. 14. c. Origen in Joan. tom. ii. 3. Euseb. Demonstr. v. 5. p. 229 fin. contr. Marc. p. 4 fin. contr. Sabell. init. August. in Joan. Tract i. 8. also vid. Philo's use of λόγοι for Angels as commented on by Burton, Bampt. Lect. p. 556. The heathens called Mercury by the name of λόγος. vid. Benedictine note f. in Justin, Ap. i. 21.

[r] This was the point in which Arians and Sabellians agreed, vid. infr. Orat. iv. init. also p. 336, note b. and supr. p. 41, note e. p. 311, note k. also Sent. D. 25. Ep. Æg. 14 fin. Epiph. Hær. 72. p. 835. b.

Disc. II. He who is really Son is but notionally[1] called Word[r], as vine, and way, and door, and tree of life; and that He is called Wisdom also only in name, the proper and true Wisdom of the Father, which coexist ingenerately[2] with Him, being other than the Son, by which He even made the Son, and named Him Wisdom as partaking of it.

[1] κατ' ἐπίνοιαν

[2] ἀγεννήτως, vid. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 106. d.

10. This they have not confined to words, but Arius has said in his Thalia, and the Sophist Asterius has written, what we have stated above, as follows: "Blessed Paul said not that he preached Christ, the Power of God or the Wisdom of God, but without the addition of the article, *God's power* and *God's wisdom*, thus preaching that the proper Power of God Himself which is natural[3] to Him, and co-existent in Him ingenerately, is something besides, generative indeed of Christ, and creative of the whole world, concerning which he teaches in his Epistle to the Romans thus,—*The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead.* For as no one would say that the Godhead there mentioned was Christ, but the Father Himself, so, as I think, *His eternal Power and Godhead* also is not the Only Begotten Son, but the Father who begat Him[4]. And he teaches that there is another power and wisdom of God, manifested through Christ." And shortly after the same Asterius says, "However His eternal power and wisdom, which truth argues[5] to be unoriginate and ingenerate, the same must surely be one. For there are many wisdoms which are one by one created by Him, of whom Christ is the first-born and only-begotten; all however equally depend on their Possessor. And all the powers are rightly called His who created and uses them:—as the Prophet says that the locust, which came to be a divine punishment of human sins, was called by God Himself not only a power, but a great power; and blessed David in most of the Psalms invites, not the Angels alone, but the Powers to praise God."

1 Cor. 1, 24.

[3] ἴμφυτον

Rom. 1, 20.

[4] p. 196, note c.

[5] p. 328, note l.

§. 38. 11. Now are they not worthy of all hatred for merely uttering this? for if, as they hold, He is Son, not because He is begotten

[r] that is, they allowed Him to be "really Son," and argued that He was but "notionally Word." vid. p. 307, d.

of the Father and proper to His Substance, but that He is called Word only because of things rational[1], and Wisdom because of things gifted with wisdom, and Power because of things gifted with power, surely He must be named a Son because of those who are made sons: and perhaps because there are things existing, He has the gift of existence[t], that is, in our notions only[u]. And then after all what is He? for He is none of these Himself, if they are but His names[2]: and He has but a semblance of being, and is decorated with these names from us. Rather this is some recklessness[3] of the devil[4], or worse, if they are not unwilling that they should truly subsist themselves, but think that God's Word is but in name. Is not this portentous, to say that Wisdom co-exists with the Father, yet not to say that this is the Christ, but that there are many created powers and wisdoms, of which one is the Lord whom they go on to compare to the caterpillar and locust? and are they not profligate, who, when they hear us

CHAP. XVIII.

[1] λογικά, vid. Ep. Æg. 13 fin.

[2] p. 307, note d.

[3] ἀνόησια in contrast to ἰνίσια.

[4] p. 9, note s.

[t] Of course this line of thought consistently followed, leads to a kind of Pantheism; for what is the Supreme Being, according to it, but an ideal standard of perfection, the sum total of all that we see excellent in the world in the highest degree, a creation of our minds, without real objective existence? The true view of our Lord's titles, on the other hand, is that He is That properly and in perfection, of which in measure and degree the creatures partake from and in Him. Vid. supr. p. 29, note k.

[u] κατ' ἐπίνοιαν, in idea or notion. This is a phrase of very frequent occurrence, both in Athan. and other writers. We have found it already just above, and p. 96, note e. p. 193. r. 1. also Orat. iv. 2, 3. de Sent. D. 2. Ep. Æg. 12, 13, 14. It denotes our idea or conception of a thing in contrast to the thing itself. Thus, the sun is to a savage a bright circle in the sky; a man is a "rational animal," according to a certain process of abstraction; a herb may be medicine upon one division, food in another; virtue may be called a mean; and faith is to one man an argumentative conclusion, to another a moral peculiarity, good or bad. In like manner, the Almighty is in reality most simple and uncompounded, without parts, passions, attributes, or properties; yet we speak of Him as good or holy, or as angry or pleased, denoting some particular aspect in which our infirmity views, in which also it can view, what is infinite and incomprehensible. That is, He is κατ' ἐπίνοιαν holy or merciful, being in reality a Unity which is all mercifulness and also all holiness, not in the way of qualities but as one indivisible perfection; which is too great for us to conceive as It is. And for the very reason that we cannot conceive It simply, we are bound to use thankfully these conceptions, which are our best possible; since some conceptions, however imperfect, are better than none. They stand for realities which they do not reach, and must be accepted for what they do not adequately represent. But when the mind comes to recognise this existing inadequacy, and to distrust itself, it is tempted to rush into the opposite extreme, and to conclude that because it cannot understand fully, it does not realize any thing, or that its ἐπίνοιαι are but ὑπάρχοντα. Hence some writers have at least seemed to say that the Divine Being was but *called* just, good, and true, (vid. Davison's protest in Note at end of Discourses on Prophecy,) and in like manner the Arians said that our Lord was but *called* the Son and the Word, not properly, but from some kind of analogy, as being the archetype and representative of all those who are adopted into God's family and gifted with wisdom.

Disc. II. say that the Word co-exists with the Father, forthwith murmur out, "Are you not speaking of two Ingenerates?" yet in speaking themselves of "His Ingenerate Wisdom," do not see that they have already incurred themselves the charge which they so rashly urge against us[x]? Moreover, what folly is there in that thought of theirs, that the Ingenerate Wisdom co-existing with God is God Himself! for what co-exists does not co-exist with itself, but with some one else, as the Evangelists say of the Lord, that He was together with His disciples; for He was not together with Himself, but with His disciples;—unless indeed they would say that God is of a compound nature, having wisdom a constituent or complement of His Substance, ingenerate as well as Himself[y], which moreover they pretend to be the framer of the world, that so they may deprive the Son of the framing of it. For there is nothing they would not maintain, sooner than hold true doctrine concerning the Lord.

§. 39. [1] vid. 40. init. 12. For where at all have they found in divine Scripture, or from whom have they heard, that there is another Word and another Wisdom besides this Son, that they should frame to themselves such a doctrine? True, indeed, it is written, Jer. 23, 29. *Are not My words like fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?* Prov. 1, 23. and in the Proverbs, *I will make known My words unto you;* but these are precepts and commands, which God has spoken to the sacred writers through His proper Ps. 119, 101. and only true Word, concerning which the Psalmist said, *I have refrained my feet from every evil way, that I may keep*

[x] The Anomœan in Max. Dial. i. a. urges against the Catholic that, if the Son exists in the Father, God is compound. Athan. here retorts that Asterius speaks of Wisdom as a really existing thing in the Divine Mind. Vid. next note.

[y] On this subject vid. Orat. iv. n. 2. Nothing is more remarkable than the confident tone in which Athan. accuses Arians as here, and Sabellians in Orat. iv. 2. of considering the Divine Nature as compound, as if the Catholics were in no respect open to such a charge. Nor are they; though in avoiding it, they are led to enunciate the most profound and ineffable mystery. Vid. supr. p. 326, note g. The Father is the One Simple Entire Divine Being, and so is the Son; They do in no sense share divinity between Them; Each is ὅλος Θεός. This is not ditheism or tritheism, for They are the same God; nor is it Sabellianism, for They are eternally distinct and substantive Persons; but it is a depth and height beyond our intellect, how what is Two in so full a sense can also in so full a sense be One, or how the Divine Nature does not come under number. vid. notes on Orat. iii. 27 and 36. Thus, "being uncompounded in nature," says Athan. "He is Father of One Only Son." supr. p. 19. In truth the distinction into Persons, as Petavius remarks, "avails especially towards the unity and simplicity of God." vid. de Deo ii. 4, 8.

Thy words. Such words accordingly the Saviour signifies to be distinct from Himself, when He says in His own person, *The words which I have spoken unto you.* For certainly such words are not offsprings or sons, nor are there so many words that frame the world, nor so many images of the One God, nor so many who have become men for us, nor as if from many such there were one who has become flesh, as John says; but as being the only Word of God are those good tidings spoken of Him by John, *The Word was made flesh*, and *all things were made by Him.* John 1, 14. ver. 3. CHAP. XVIII.

13. Wherefore of Him alone, our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His oneness with the Father, are written and set forth the testimonies, both of the Father signifying that the Son is One, and of the sacred writers, aware of this and saying that the Word is One, and that He is Only-Begotten. And His works also are set forth; for all things, visible and invisible, have been brought to be through Him, and *without Him was made not one thing*[z]. But concerning another or any one else they have not a thought, nor frame to themselves words or wisdoms, of which neither name nor deed are signified by Scripture, but are named by these only. For it is their invention and Christ-opposing surmise[1], and they wrest the true sense[a] of the name of the Word and the John 1, 3.

[1] ὑπόνοια, vid. p. 333, r. 3.

[z] Vid. (in addition to what is said supr. p. 208, note a.) Simon. Hist. Crit. Comment. pp. 7, 32, 52. Lampe in loc. Joann. Fabric. in Apocryph. N. T. t. 1. p. 384. Petav. de Trin. ii. 6. §. 6. Ed. Ben. in Ambros. de Fid. iii. 6. Wetstein in loc. Wolf. Cur. Phil. in loc. The verse was not ended as we at present read it, especially in the East, till the time of S. Chrysostom, according to Simon, vid. in Joann. Hom. v. init. though as we have seen supra, S. Epiphanius had spoken strongly against the ancient reading. S. Ambrose loc. cit. refers it to the Arians, Lampe refers it to the Valentinians on the strength of Iren. Hær. i. 8. n. 5. Theophilus in loc. (if the Comment on the Gospels is his) understands by οὐδὲν "an idol," referring to 1 Cor. viii. 4. Augustine, even at so late a date, adopts the old reading, vid. de Gen. ad lit. v. 29—31. It was the reading of the Vulgate, even at the time it was ruled by the Council of Trent to be authentic, and of the Roman Missal. The verse is made to end after "in Him," (thus, οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ) by Epiph. Ancor. 75. Hil. in Psalm 148, 4. Ambros. de Fid. iii. 6. Nyssen in Eunom. i. p. 84. app. which favours the Arians. The counterpart of the ancient reading, which is very awkward, ("What was made in Him was life,") is found in August. loc. cit. and Ambrose in Psalm 36, 35. but he also notices "What was made, was in Him." de Fid. loc. cit. It is remarkable that St. Ambrose attributes the present punctuation to the Alexandrians in loc. Psalm. in spite of Athan.'s and Alexander's, (Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 733.) nay Cyril's (in loc. Joann.) adoption of the ancient.

[a] καταχρῶνται. vid. supr. p. 10. note s. and so καταχρηστικῶς, Cyril. Cat. xi. 4. Epiph. Hær. 69, p. 743. 71, p. 831. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 40. Concil. Labb. t. 2. p. 67. and abusivè, ibid. p. 210.

Disc. II. §. 40.

Wisdom, and framing to themselves others, they deny the true Word of God, and the real and only Wisdom of the Father, and thereby, miserable men, rival the Manichees. For they too, when they behold the works of God, deny Him the only and true God, and frame to themselves another, whom they can shew neither by work, nor in any testimony drawn from the divine oracles. Therefore, if neither in the divine oracles is found another wisdom besides this Son, nor from the fathers[1] have we heard of any such, yet they have confessed and written of the Wisdom co-existing with the Father ingenerately, proper to Him, and the Framer of the world, this must be the Son who even according to them is eternally co-existent with the Father. For He is Framer of all, as it is written, *In Wisdom hast Thou made them all.*

[1] p. 12, note y.

Ps. 104, 24.

14. Nay, Asterius himself, as if forgetting what he wrote before, afterwards, in Caiaphas's fashion, involuntarily, when urging the Greeks, instead of naming many wisdoms, or the caterpillar, confesses but one, in these words;—"God the Word is one, but many are the things rational; and one is the substance and nature of Wisdom, but many are the things wise and beautiful." And soon afterwards he says again:—" Who are they whom they honour with the title of God's children[2]? for they will not say that they too are words, nor maintain that there are many wisdoms. For it is not possible, whereas the Word is one, and Wisdom has been set forth as one, to dispense to the multitude of children the Substance of the Word, and to bestow on them the appellation of Wisdom." It is not then at all wonderful, that the Arians should battle with the truth, when they have collisions with their own principles and conflict with each other, at one time saying that there are many wisdoms, at another maintaining one; at one time classing wisdom with the caterpillar, at another saying that it co-exists with the Father and is proper to Him; now that the Father alone is ingenerate, and then again that His Wisdom and His Power are ingenerate also. And they battle with us for saying that the Word of God is ever, yet forget their own doctrines, and say themselves that Wisdom co-exists with God ingenerately[b]. So dizzied[2] are they in all these

vid. John 11, 15.

[2] παιδας

[2] σκοτοδινιῶσι,

Orat. iii. 3. init.

[b] Asterius held, 1. that there was an Attribute called Wisdom; 2. that the Son was created by and called after that Attribute; or 1. that Wisdom was

matters, denying the true Wisdom, and inventing one which is not, as the Manichees who make to themselves another God, after denying Him that is. CHAP. XVIII.

15. But let the other heresies and the Manichees also know that the Father of the Christ is One, and is Lord and Maker of the creation through His proper Word. And let the Ariomaniacs know in particular, that the Word of God is One, being the only Son proper and genuine from His Substance, and having with His Father the oneness of Godhead indivisible, as we have said many times, being taught it by the Saviour Himself. Since, were it not so, wherefore through Him does the Father create, and in Him reveal Himself to whom He will, and illuminate them? or why too in the baptismal consecration is the Son named together with the Father? For if they say that the Father is not all-sufficient, then their answer is irreligious[c]; but if He be, for this alone is holy to say, what is the need of the Son for framing the worlds, or for the holy laver? And what fellowship is there between creature and Creator? or why is a thing made classed with the Maker in the consecration of all of us? or why, as you hold, is faith in one Creator and in one creature delivered to us? for if it was that we might be joined to the Godhead, what need of the creature? but if that we might be united to the Son a creature, superfluous, according to you, is this naming of the Son in Baptism, for God who made Him a Son, is able to make us sons also. Besides, if the Son be a creature, the nature of rational creatures being one, no §. 41.

ingenerate and eternal, 2. that there were created wisdoms, words, powers many, of which the Son was one. In the two propositions thus stated there is no incongruity; yet Athan. seems right in his criticism, because Eusebius, and therefore probably Asterius, whom he is defending against Marcellus, (whose heresy was of a Sabellian character,) brings it again and again as a charge against the latter that he held an eternal and ingenerate λόγος, (vid. contr. Marc. pp. 5 init. 35, c. 106, d. 119, c. vid. infr. note on Orat. iv. 3.) which is identical with the former of the two propositions. That is, the zealous maintenance of their peculiar tenet about the Son, which is the second, involved them in an opposition to the Sabellian tenet, which is the first, which in reality they also held.

[c] He says that it is contrary to all our notions of religion that Almighty God cannot create, enlighten, address, and unite Himself to His creatures immediately. This seems to be implied in saying that the Son was created for creation, illumination, &c.; whereas in the Catholic view the Son is but that Divine Person who in the Economy of grace is creator, enlightener, &c. God is represented all-perfect but acting according to a certain divine order. This is explained just below. Here the remark is in point about the right and wrong sense of the words "commanding," "obeying," &c. supra p. 324, note c.

Disc. II. help will come to creatures from a creature[1], since all[2] need grace from God.

[1] p. 303, note e.

[2] all. vid. supr. p. 32, note q.

16. We said a few words just now on the fitness that all things should be made by Him; but since the course[3] of the discussion has led us also to mention holy Baptism, it is necessary to state, as I think and believe, that the Son is named with the Father, not as if the Father were not all-sufficient, not without meaning, and by accident; but, since He is God's Word and proper Wisdom, and being His Radiance, is ever with the Father, therefore it is impossible, if the Father bestows grace, that He should not give it in the Son, for the Son is in the Father as the radiance in the light. For, not as if in need, but as a Father in His own Wisdom hath God founded the earth, and made all things in the Word which is from Him, and in the Son confirms the Holy Laver. For where the Father is, there is the Son, and where the light, there the radiance; and as what the Father worketh, He worketh through the Son[4], and the Lord Himself says, "What I see the Father do, that do I also;" so also when baptism is given, whom the Father baptizes, him the Son baptizes; and whom the Son baptizes, he is consecrated in the Holy Ghost[5]. And again as when the sun shines, one might say that the radiance illuminates, for the light is one and indivisible, nor can be detached, so where the Father is or is named, there plainly is the Son also; and is the Father named in Baptism? then must the Son be named with Him[d].

[3] ἀκολουθία, p. 293, r. 2.

[4] vid. notes on Orat. iii. 1—15. e. g. on 11 and 15.

[5] Orat. iii. 15. note.

§. 42. Therefore, when He made His promise to the sacred writers[6],

[6] ἁγίοις, p. 325, r. 1.

[d] Vid. supr. p. 326, note g. and notes on iii. 3—6. "When the Father is mentioned, His Word is with Him, and the Spirit who is in the Son. And if the Son be named, in the Son is the Father, and the Spirit is not external to the Word." ad Serap. i. 14. and supr. p. 98, note n. "I have named the Father," says S. Dionysius, "and before I mention the Son, I have already signified Him in the Father; I have mentioned the Son, and though I had not yet named the Father, He had been fully comprehended in the Son, &c." Sent. D. 17. vid. Hil. Trin. vii. 31. Passages like these are distinct from such as the one quoted from Athan. supr. p. 65, note m. where it is said that in "Father" is *implied* "Son," i. e. argumentatively as a correlative. vid. p. 33. note r. The latter accordingly Eusebius does not scruple to admit in Sabell. i. ap. Sirm. t. i. p. 8, a. "Pater statim, ut dictus fuit pater, *requirit ista vox* filium, &c.;" for here no περιχώρησις is implied, which *is* the doctrine of the text, and is *not* the doctrine of an Arian who considered the Son an instrument. Yet Petavius observes as to the very *word* περιχ. that one of its first senses in ecclesiastical writers was this which Arians would not disclaim; its use to express the Catholic doctrine here spoken of was later. vid. de Trin. iv. 16.

He thus spoke; *I and the Father will come, and make Our abode in him;* and again, *that, as I and Thou are One, so they may be one in Us.* And the grace given is one, given from the Father in the Son, as Paul writes in every Epistle, *Grace unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.* For the light must be with the ray, and the radiance must be contemplated together with its own light. CHAP. XVIII. vid. John 14, 23. and John 17, 21. Rom. 1, 7.

17. Whence the Jews, as denying the Son as well as they, have not the Father either; for, as having left the *Fountain of Wisdom*, as Baruch reproaches them[1], they put from them the Wisdom springing from it, our Lord Jesus Christ, (for *Christ*, says the Apostle, is *God's power and God's wisdom*,) when they said, *We have no king but Cæsar.* The Jews then have the penal award of their denial; for their city as well as their reasoning came to nought. And these too hazard the fulness of the mystery, I mean Baptism; for if the consecration[2] is given to us into the Name of Father and Son, and they do not confess a true Father, because they deny what is from Him and like His Substance, and deny also the true Son, and name another of their own framing as created out of nothing, is not the rite administered by them altogether empty and unprofitable, making a show, but in reality being no help towards religion? For the Arians do not baptize into Father and Son, but into Creator and creature, and into Maker and work[3]. And as a creature is other than the Son, so the Baptism, which is supposed[4] to be given by them, is other than the truth, though they pretend to name the Name of the Father and the Son, because of the words of Scripture. For not he who simply says, "O Lord," gives Baptism; but he who with the Name has also the right faith[a]. On this account therefore our Saviour also did not simply command to baptize, but first says, *Teach;* and then "Baptize into the Name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost;" that the right faith might follow upon learning, and together with faith might come the consecration[2] of Baptism.

[1] Bar. 3, 12. pp. 20, 207. [2] τελείωσις, initiation [3] pp. 56, 229. [4] νομιζόμενον, so-called, p. 193. also Orat. iii. 57. twice

[a] The *primâ facie* sense of this passage is certainly unfavourable to the validity of heretical baptism; vid. the subject considered at length in Note G. on Tertullian, O. T. vol. 1. p. 280. also Coust. Pont. Rom. Ep. p. 227. Voss. de Bapt. Disp. 19 and 20. Forbes Instruct. Theol. x. 2. 3, and 12. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. v. 62. §. 5—11. On Arian Baptism in particular vid. Jablonski's Diss. Opusc. t. iv. p. 113.

Disc. II. §. 43.

18. There are many other heresies too, which use the words only, but without orthodoxy, as I have said, nor the sound faith[1], and in consequence the water which they administer is unprofitable, as deficient in a religious meaning, so that he who is sprinkled[2] by them is rather polluted[f] by irreligion than redeemed. So Gentiles also, though the name of God is on their lips, incur the charge of Atheism[g], because they know not the real and very God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. So Manichees and Phrygians[3], and the disciples of Samosatene, though using the Names, nevertheless are heretics, and the Arians follow in the same course, though they read the words of Scripture, and use the Names, yet they too mock those who receive the rite from them, being more irreligious than the other heresies, and advancing beyond them, and making them seem innocent by their own recklessness of speech. For these other heresies lie against the truth in some certain respect, either erring concerning the Lord's Body, as if He did not take flesh of Mary, or as if He altogether did not die, or become man, but only appeared, and was not truly, and seemed to have a body when He had not, and seemed to have the shape of man, as visions in a dream; but the Arians are without disguise irreligious against the Father Himself. For hearing from the Scriptures that His Godhead is represented in the Son as in an image, they blaspheme, saying, that it is a creature, and every where concerning that Image, they carry about[4] with them the base word[5], "He was not," as mud in a wallet[6], and

[1] τὴν σ. ὑγιαινόσας, Hist. Treat. p. 302, note t.

[2] βαπτιζόμενον. Bingh. Antiqu. xi. 11. §. 5.

[3] Montanists

[4] περιφέρουσι, p. 328, note k.

[5] λαξίδιον, p. 296, r. 4.

[6] instead of provisions.

[f] S. Cyprian speaks of those who prophanâ aquâ polluuntur, Ep. 76 fin. (ed. Ben.) and of the hæreticorum sordida tinctio, Ep. 71 cir. init. S. Optatus speaks of the "various and false baptisms, in which the stained cannot wash a man, the filthy cannot cleanse." ad Parmen. i. 12. Iambus in the Council of Carthage speaks of persons baptized without the Church as "non dicam lotos, sed sordidatos." ap. Cypr. p. 707.

[g] ἀθέους. vid. supr. p. 3. note f. p. 184. note k. "Atheist" or rather "godless" was the title given by pagans to those who denied, and by the Fathers to those who professed, polytheism. Thus Julian says that Christians preferred "atheism to godliness." vid. Suicer Thes. in voc. It was a popular imputation upon Christians, as it had been before on philosophers and poets, some of whom better deserved it. On the word as a term of reproach vid. Voet. Disput. 9. t. 1. pp. 115, &c. 195. It is used of heathens, contr. Gent. 46 init. Orat. iii. 67 fin. and by Eusebius, Eccl. Theol. p. 73, c. who also applies it to Sabellius, ibid. pp. 63, c. 107, b. to Marcellus, p. 80, c. to phantasiasts, pp. 64, c. 65, d. 70. to Valentinus, p. 114, c. Athan. applies it to Asterius (apparently), Orat. iii. 64, b. including Valentinus and the heathen; Basil to Eunomius. Athan. however contrasts it apparently with polytheism, Orat. iii. 15 and 64, b.

spit it forth as serpents[h] their venom. Then, whereas their doctrine is nauseous to all men, forthwith, as a support against its fall, they prop up the heresy with human patronage[1], that the simple, at the sight or even by the fear may overlook the mischief of their perversity. CHAP. XVIII. [1] p. 193, r. 5.

19. Right indeed is it to pity their dupes; well is it to weep over them, for that they sacrifice their own interest for that immediate phantasy which pleasures furnish, and forfeit their future hope. In thinking to be baptized into the name of one who exists not, they will receive nothing; and ranking themselves with a creature, from the creation they will have no help, and believing in one unlike[2] and foreign to the Father in substance, to the Father they will not be joined, not having His proper Son by nature, who is from Him, who is in the Father, and in whom the Father is, as He Himself has said; but being led astray by them, the wretched men henceforth remain destitute and stripped of the Godhead. For this phantasy of earthly goods will not follow them upon their death; nor when they see the Lord whom they have denied, sitting on His Father's throne, and judging quick and dead, will they be able to call to their help any one of those who have now deceived them; for they shall see them also at the judgment-seat, repenting for their deeds of sin and irreligion. [2] Orat. iii. 4. note

[h] *ὡς ἴριν τὸν ἰόν.* also Ep. Æg. 19. Hist. Ar. 66. and so Arians, are dogs (with allusion to 2 Pet. ii. 22.), de Decr. 4. Hist. Ar. 29. lions, Hist. Ar. 11. wolves, Ap. c. Arian. 49. hares, de Fug. 10. chameleons, de Decr. init. hydras, Orat. iii. 58 fin. eels, Ep. Æg. 7 fin. cuttlefish, Orat. iii. 59. gnats, de Decr. 14 init. Orat. iii. 59 init. beetles, Orat. iii. fin. leeches, Hist. Ar. 65 init. de Fug. 4. In many of these instances the allusion is to Scripture. On names given to heretics in general, vid. the Alphabetum bestialitatis hereticæ ex Patrum Symbolis, in the Calvinismus bestiarum religio attributed to Raynaudus and printed in the Apopompæus of his works. Vid. on the principle of such applications infr. Orat. iii. 18.

[1] *καλῶς ἀναγινώσκων.... ἐφὴν ἴσχον τὴν διάνοιαν*, i. e. the text admits of an interpretation consistent with the analogy of faith, and so *μετ' εὐσεβείας* just below. vid. supr. p. 283. note c. infr. p. 343. note c. Such phrases are frequent in Athan. e. g. *τὴν διάνοιαν εὐσεβῆ καὶ λίαν ἐφὴν*, de Decr. 13. *καλῶς καὶ ἐφῶς*, Orat. iv. 31, e. *γίγραπται μάλα ἀναγκαίως*, de Decr. 14. *εἰκότως*, Orat. ii. 44, e. iii. 53, a. *τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν*, Orat. i. 44 init. *τὸν σκόπον τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν*, Orat. iii. 58, a. *ἡ διάνοια ἴσχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὔλογον*, iii. 7 fin. vid. also Orat. i. 37 init. 46. ii. 1, a, c. 9 init. 12, b. 53, d. iii. 1, c. 18, a. 19, b. 35, c. 37, b. iv. 30, a.

See p. 356, margin.

CHAP. XIX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22.

Proverbs are of a figurative nature, and must be interpreted as such. We must interpret them, and in particular this passage, by the *Regula Fidei*. "He created Me" not equivalent to "I am a creature." Wisdom a creature so far forth as Its human body. Again, if He is a creature, it is as "a beginning of ways," an office which, though not an attribute, is a consequence, of a higher and divine nature. And it is "for the works," which implied the works existed, and therefore much more He, before He was created. Also "the Lord" not the Father "created" Him, which implies the creation was that of a servant.

§. 44. 1. We have gone through thus much before the passage in the Proverbs, resisting the insensate fables which their hearts have invented, that they may know that the Son of God ought not to be called a creature, and may learn rightly to read what admits in truth of a sound[1] explanation. For it is written, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways, for His works;* since, however, these are proverbs and it is expressed in the way of proverbs, we must not expound them nakedly in their first sense, but we must inquire into the person, and thus religiously put the sense on it. For what is said in proverbs, is not said plainly but is put forth latently[b], as the Lord Himself has taught us in the Gospel according to

[1] ἐχόντων, p. 341, note i.

Prov. 8, 22.

[a] Athanasius follows the Sept. in translating the Hebrew קָנָה by ἔκτισε *created*, as it is also translated in Gen. 14, 19. 22. Such too is the sense given in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions, and by the great majority of primitive writers. On the other hand, Aquila translates ἐκτήσατο, and so read Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20. fin. Nyssen contr. Eunom. i. p. 34. Jerome in Is. 26, 13. and the Vulgate translates possedit. קָנָה is translated "gotten," Gen. 4, 1. after the Sept. and Vulg. in the sense of generation, vid. also Deut. 32, 6; The Hebrew sense is appealed to by Eusebius, Eccles. Theol. iii. 2, 3. S. Epiphanius, Hær. 69, 25. and S. Jerome in Isai. 26, 13. Vid. Petav. Trin. ii. 1. Huet. Origenian. ii. 2. 23. C. B. Michael. in loc. Prov.

[b] This passage of Athan. has been used by S. Cyril Thesaur. p. 155, d. vid. also Epiph. Hær. 69, 21. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20. Didym. de Trin. iii. 3. p. 334, (ed. 1769.) Nyss. contr. Eunom. p. 83. App. vid. infr. 73 and 77. but it would be an endless labour to refer to such parallel passages in later Fathers.

John, saying, *These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but openly.* Therefore it is necessary to unfold the sense[c] of what is said, and to seek it as something hidden, and not nakedly to expound as if the meaning were spoken *plainly*, lest by a false interpretation we wander from the truth. CHAP. XIX. John 16, 25.

2. If then what is written be about Angel, or any other of things generate, as concerning one of us who are works, let it be said, *created Me.* But if it be the Wisdom of God, in whom all things generate have been framed, that speaks concerning Itself, what ought we to understand but that *He created*, means nothing contrary to "He begat?" Nor, as forgetting that He was Creator and Framer, or ignorant of the difference between the Creator and the creatures, does It number Itself among the creatures; but It signifies a certain sense, as in proverbs, not *plainly*, but latent; which It inspired the sacred writers to use in prophecy, while soon after It doth Itself give the meaning of *He created* in other but parallel expressions, saying, *Wisdom hath made Herself a house.* Now it is plain that our body is Wisdom's house[d], which It took on Itself to become man; hence consistently does John say, *The Word was made flesh;* and by Solomon Wisdom says of Itself with cautious exactness[1], not "I am a creature," but only *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways for His works*[e], yet not "created Me that I might have being," nor "because I have a creature's beginning and generation." Prov. 8, 22. vid. supra. Prov. 9, 1. John 1, 14. [1] p. 298, note a. Prov. 8, 22.

3. For in this passage, not as signifying the Substance of His §. 45.

[c] Here, as in so many other places, he is explaining what is obscure or latent in Scripture by means of the Regula Fidei. "Since the canon of Scripture is perfect," says Vincentius, "and more than sufficient for itself in all respects, what need of joining to it the ecclesiastical sense? because from the very depth of Holy Scripture all men will not take it in one and the same sense, &c. Commonit. 2. Vid. especially the first sentence of the following paragraph, *εἰ δὲ τοῦτο κ. τ. λ.* vid. supr. p. 341, note i.

[d] ut intra intemerata viscera ædificante sibi Sapientiâ domum, Verbum caro fieret. Leon. Ep. 31, 2. Didym. de Trin. iii. 3. p. 337. (ed. 1769.) August. Civ. D. xvii. 20. Cyril in Joann. p. 384, 5. Max. Dial. iii. p. 1029. (ap. Theodor. ed. Schutz.) vid. supr. p. 196, note d. Hence S. Clement. Alex. *ὁ λόγος ἑαυτὸν γυναῖκα.* Strom. v. 3.

[e] The passage is in like manner interpreted of our Lord's human nature by Epiph. Hær. 69, 20—25. Basil. Ep. viii. 8. Naz. Orat. 30, 2. Nyss. contr. Eunom. i. p. 34. et al. Cyril. Thesaur. p. 154. Hilar. de Trin. xii. 36—49. Ambros. de Fid. i. 15. August. de Fid. et Symb. 6.

DISC. II.

[1] γενητὸν

Godhead, nor His own everlasting and genuine[1] generation from the Father, has the Word spoken by Solomon, but on the other hand His manhood and economy towards us. And, as I said before, He has not said "I am a creature," or "I became a creature," but only *He created*[f]. For the creatures, having a created substance, are generate, and are said to be created, and in short the creature is created: but this mere term *He created* does not necessarily signify the substance or the generation, but indicates something else as

[f] He seems here to say that it is both true that "The Lord created," and yet that the Son was not created. Creatures alone are created and He was not a creature. Rather something belonging or relating to Him, something short of His substance or nature, was created. However, it is a question in controversy whether even His Manhood can be called a creature, though many of the Fathers, (including Athan. in several places,) seem so to call it. The difficulty may be viewed thus; that our Lord, even in His human nature is the natural, not the adopted, Son of God, (to deny which is the error of the Adoptionists,) whereas no creature can be His natural and true Son; and again that His human nature is worshipped, which would be idolatry, if it were a creature. The question is discussed in Petav. de Incarn. vii. 6. who determines that the human nature, though in itself a created substance, yet viewed as deified in the Word, does not in fact exist as a creature. Vasquez, however, considers that our Lord may be called creature, viewed as man, in 3 Thom. Disp. 66. and Raynaud Opp. t. 2. p. 84. expressing his opinion strongly. And Berti de Theol. Disc. xxvii. 5. who adds, however, with Suarez after S. Thomas (in 3 Thom. Disput. 34. Opp. t. 16. p. 489.) that it is better to abstain from the use of the term. Of the Fathers, S. Jerome notices the doubt, and decides it in favour of the term; "Since," he says, "Wisdom in the Proverbs of Solomon speaks of Herself as created a beginning of the ways of God, and many through fear lest they should be obliged to call Christ a creature, deny the whole mystery of Christ, and say that not Christ, but the world's wisdom is meant by this Wisdom, we freely declare, that there is no hazard in calling Him creature, whom we confess with all the confidence of our hope to be "worm," and "man," and "crucified," and "curse." In Eph. ii. 10. He is supported by Athan. infr. 46. Ep. Æg. 17. Expos. F. 3. ad Serap. ii. 8. fin. Naz. Orat. 30, 2. fin. 38, 13. Nyss. in Cant. Hom. 13. t. i. p. 663. init. Cyr. Hom. Pasch. 17, p. 233. Max. Mart. t. 2. p. 265. Damasc. F. O. iii. 3. Hil. de Trin. xii. 48. Ambros. Psalm. 118. Serm. 5. 25. August. Ep. 187, n. 8. Leon. Serm. 77, 2. Greg. Mor. v. 63. The principal authority on the other side is S. Epiphanius, who ends his argument with the words, "The Holy Church of God worships not a creature, but the Son who is begotten, Father in Son, &c." Hær. 69, 36. And S. Proclus too speaks of the child of the Virgin as being "Him who is worshipped, not the creature," Orat. v. fin. On the whole it would appear, (1.) that if "creature," like "Son," be a *personal* term, He is not a creature; but if it be a word of *nature*, He is a creature; (2.) that our Lord is a creature in respect to the flesh (vid. infr. 47.); (3.) that since the flesh is infinitely beneath His divinity, it is neither natural nor safe to call Him a creature, (according to St. Thomas's example, "non dicimus, quod Æthiops est albus, sed quod est albus secundum dentes") and (4.) that, if the flesh is worshipped, still it is worshipped as in the Person of the Son, not by a separate act of worship. "A creature worship not we," says Athan. "perish the thought . . . but the Lord of creation made flesh, the Word of God; for though the flesh in itself be a part of creation, yet it has become God's body . . . who so senseless as to say to the Lord, Remove out of the body, that I may worship Thee?" ad Adelph. 3. Epiph. has imitated this passage, Ancor. 51. introducing the illustration of a king and his robe, &c.

coming to pass in Him[1] of whom it speaks, and not simply that He who is said to be created, is at once in His Nature and Substance a creature[g]. And this difference divine Scripture recognises, saying concerning the creatures, *The earth is full of Thy creation*, and *the creation itself groaneth together and travaileth together;* and in the Apocalypse he says, *And the third part of the creatures in the sea died which had life;* as also Paul says, *Every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving;* and in the book of Wisdom it is written, *Having ordained man through Thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which Thou hast made.* And these, being creatures, are also said to be created, as we may further hear from our Lord, who says, *He who created them, made them male and female;* and from Moses in his Song, who writes, *Ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from the one side of heaven unto the other.*

CHAP. XIX.

[1] περὶ ἄνευον

Ps. 104, 24. Sept. Rom. 8, 22. Rev. 8, 9. 1 Tim. 4, 4. Wisd. 9, 2. Mat. 19, 4. ἐποίησεν, r. t. Deut. 4, 32.

[g] τὸ λεγόμενον κτίζεσθαι τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ κτίσμα. also infr. 60, b. Without meaning that the respective terms are synonymous, is it not plain that in a later phraseology this would have been, "not simply that He is in His Person a creature," or "that His Person is created?" vid. Note, p. 147—176. Athan.'s use of the phrase οὐσία τοῦ λόγου has already been noticed, supr. p. 244, note k. and passages from this Oration are given in another connexion in the translation of his Hist. Tracts p. 300. note m. The term is synonymous with the Divine Nature as existing in the Person of the Word. In the passage in the text the οὐσία of the Word is contrasted to the οὐσία of creatures; and it is observable that it is implied that our Lord has not taken on Him a created οὐσία. "He said not," Athan. remarks, "I became a creature, for the creatures have a created substance;" he adds that "He created" signifies, *not* substance, but something taking place in Him περὶ ἄνευον, i.e. some adjunct or accident, (e.g. pp. 38, 9. notes y and z.) or as he says supr. p. 291. envelopement or dress. In like manner he presently p. 346. speaks of the creation of the Word like the new-creation of the soul, which is not in substance but in qualities, &c. And infr. p. 353. he contrasts the οὐσία and the ἀνθρώπινον of the Word; as in Orat. i. 41. οὐσία and ὁ ἀνθρωπότης; and φύσις and σάρξ, iii. 34. init. and λόγος and σάρξ, 38. init. And He speaks of the Son "taking on Him the *economy*," infr. 76, d. and of the ὑπόστασις τοῦ λογοῦ being one with ὁ ἄνθρωπος, iv. 25, c. It is observed p. 291, note k. how this line of teaching might be wrested to the purposes of the Apollinarian and Eutychian heresies; and, considering Athan.'s most emphatic protests against their errors in his later works, as well as his strong statements in Orat. iii. there is no hazard in this admission. We thus understand how Eutyches came to deny the "two natures." He said that such a doctrine was a new one; this is not true, for, not to mention other Fathers, Athan. infr. Orat. iv. fin. speaks of our Lord's "invisible nature *and visible*," (vid. also contr. Apoll. ii. 11, a. infr. 70. iii. 43, c.) and his ordinary use of ἄνθρωπος for the manhood might quite as plausibly be perverted on the other hand into a defence of Nestorianism; but still the above peculiarities in his style may be taken to *account for* the heresy, though they do not excuse the heretic. Vid. also the Ed. Ben. on S. Hilary, præf. p. xliii. who uses *natura* absolutely for our Lord's Divinity, as contrasted to the *dispensatio*, and divides His titles into *naturalia* and *assumpta*.

Disc. II. Col. 1, 16—17. And Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, *Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the First born of every creature, for in Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created through Him, and for Him, and He is before all.*

§. 46. 4. That to be called creatures, then, and to be created belongs to things which have by nature a created substance, these passages are sufficient to remind us, though Scripture is full of the like; on the other hand that the single word *He created* does not simply denote the substance and mode of generation[1], David shews in the Psalm, *This shall be written for another generation, and the people that is created shall praise the Lord;* and again, *Create in me a clean heart, O God;* and Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians says, *Having abolished the law of commandments contained in ordinances, for to create in Himself of two one new man;* and again, *Put ye on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness*[2]. For neither David spoke of any people created in substance, nor prayed to have another heart than that he had, but meant renovation according to God and renewal; nor did Paul signify any two created in substance in the Lord, nor again did he counsel us to put on any other man; but he called the life according to virtue the *man after God*, and by the *created* in Christ he meant the two people who are renewed in Him. Such too is the language of the book of Jeremiah; *The Lord hath created a new salvation for a plantation, in which salvation men shall walk to and fro*[h]; and in thus speaking, he does not mean any substance of a creature, but prophesies of the renewal of salvation among men, which has taken place[3] in Christ for us.

[1] γένεσιν Ps. 102, 18. Sept. Ps. 51, 12. Eph. 2, 15. Eph. 4, 22.

[2] vid. Cyr. Thes. p. 156.

[3] γενομένην. p. 268. twice.

5. Such then being the difference between "the creatures" and the single word *He created*, if you find any where in divine Scripture the Lord called "creature," produce it and make the most of it; but if it is no where written that He is

p. 347. r. 1. p. 353. r. 1.

[h] vid. also Expos. F. 3. where he notices that this is the version of the Septuagint, Aquila's being "The Lord hath created a new thing in the woman." Our own "a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man," is with the Hebrew, as is the Vulgate. Athan. has preserved Aquila's version in three other places, in Psalm xxx. 12. lix. 5. lxv. 18.

a creature, only He Himself says about Himself in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me*, shame upon you both on the ground of the distinction aforesaid and for that the diction is like that of proverbs; and accordingly let *He created* be understood, not of His being a creature, but of that human nature which became[1] His, for to this belongs creation. Indeed is it not evidently unfair in you, when David and Paul say *He created*, then indeed not to understand it of the substance and the generation, but the renewal; yet, when the Lord says *He created*. to number His substance with the creatures? and again when Scripture says, *Wisdom hath built her an house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars*, to understand *house* allegorically, but to take *He created* as it stands, and to fasten on it the idea of creature? and neither His being Framer of all has had any weight with you, nor have you feared His being the sole and proper Offspring of the Father, but recklessly, as if you had enlisted against Him, do ye fight, and think less of Him than of men. CHAP. XIX.

[1] γενόμενος. see p. 346, r.

Prov. 9, 1.

6. For the very passage proves that it is only an invention of your own to call the Lord creature. For the Lord, knowing His own Substance to be the Only-begotten Wisdom and Offspring of the Father, and other than things generate and natural creatures, says in love to man, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways*, as if to say, "My Father hath prepared for Me a body, and has created Me for men in behalf of their salvation." For, as when John says, *The Word was made flesh*, we do not conceive the whole Word Himself to be flesh[2], but to have put on flesh and become man, and on hearing, *Christ hath become a curse for us*, and *He hath made Him sin for us who knew no sin*, we do not simply conceive this, that whole Christ has become curse and sin, but that He has taken on Him the curse which lay against us, (as the Apostle has said, *Has redeemed us from the curse*, and *has carried*, as Esaias has said, *our sins*, and as Peter has written, *has borne them in the body on the wood;*) so, if it is said in the Proverbs *He created*, we must not conceive that the whole Word is in nature a creature, but that He put on the created body[1] and that God created Him for our §. 47.

John 1, 14.

[2] p. 295, note o.

Gal. 3, 13. 2 Cor. 5, 21. Gal. 3, 13. Is. 53, 4. 1 Pet. 2, 24.

[1] Here he says that, though our Lord's flesh is created or He is created as to the flesh, it is not right to call Him a creature. This is very much

Disc. II. sakes, preparing for Him the created body, as it is written, for us, that in Him we might be capable of being renewed and made gods [1].

[1] θεωθῶμεν

7. What then has deceived you, O senseless, to call the Creator a creature? or whence did you purchase for you this new thought, to make a boast of [2]? For the Proverbs say *He created*, but they call not the Son creature, but Offspring; and, according to the distinction in Scripture aforesaid of *He created* and "creature," they acknowledge, what is by nature proper to the Son, that He is the Only-begotten Wisdom and Framer of the creatures, and when they say *He created*, they say it not in respect of His Substance, but signify that He was becoming a beginning of many ways; so that *He created* is in contrast to *Offspring*, and His being called the *Beginning of ways* [k] to His being the Only-begotten Word.

[2] τεμαυτόν, infr. 82.

§. 48. For if He is Offspring, how call ye Him creature? for no one says that He begets what He creates, nor calls His proper offspring creatures; and again, if He is Only-begotten, how becomes He *beginning of the ways?* for of necessity, if He was created a beginning of all things, He is no longer alone, as having those who were made after Him.

8. For Reuben, when he became a beginning [3] of the children, was not only-begotten, but in time indeed first, but in nature and relationship one among those who came after him. Therefore if the Word also is *a beginning of the ways*, He must be such as the ways are, and the ways must be such as the Word, though in point of time He be created first of them. For the beginning [4]

[3] ἀρχὴ τέκνων, Gen. 49, 3. Sept.

[4] ἀρχὴ

what S. Thomas says, as referred to in p. 344, note f. in the words of the Schools, that Æthiops, albus secundum dentes, not est albus. But why may not our Lord be so called upon the principle of the *communicatio Idiomatum*, (infra note on iii. 31.) as He is said to be, born of a Virgin, to have suffered, &c.? The reason is this:—birth, passion, &c. confessedly belong to His human nature, without adding "according to the flesh;" but "creature" not implying humanity, might appear a simple attribute of His Person, if used without limitation. Thus, as S. Thomas adds, though we may not absolutely say Æthiops iste albus, we may say "crispus est," or in like manner, "he is bald." Since crispus, or bald, can but refer to the hair. Still more does this remark apply in the case of "Sonship," which is a personal attribute altogether; as is proved, says Petav. de Incarn. vii. 6 fin. by the instance of Adam, who was in all respects a man like Seth, yet not a son. Accordingly, we may not call our Lord, even according to the manhood, an adopted Son.

[k] ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν· and so in Justin's Tryph. 61. The Bened. Ed. in loc. refers to a similar application of the word to our Lord in Tatian contr. Gent. 5. Athenag. Ap. 10. Iren. Hær. iv. 20. n. 3. Origen. in Joan. tom. 1. 39. Tertull. adv. Prax. 6. and Ambros. de Fid. iii. 7.

or initiative of a city is such as the other parts of the city are, and the members too being joined to it, make the city whole and one, as the many members of one body; nor does one part of it make, and another come to be, and is subject to the former, but all the city equally has its government and constitution from its maker. If then the Lord is in such sense created as a *beginning* of all things, it would follow that He and all other things together make up the unity of the creation, and He neither differs from all others, though He become the *beginning* of all, nor is He Lord of them, though older in point of time; but He has the same manner of framing and the same Lord as the rest. CHAP. XIX.

9. Nay, if He be a creature, as you hold, how can He be created sole and first at all, so as to be beginning of all? when it is plain from what has been said, that among the creatures not any is of a constant[1] nature and of prior formation, but each has its generation with all the rest, however it may excel others in glory. For as to the separate stars or the great lights, not this appeared first, and that second, but in one day and by the same command, they were all called into being[2]. And such was the generation of the quadrupeds, and of birds, and fishes, and cattle, and plants; such too was that of the human race after God's Image; for though Adam only was formed out of the earth, yet in him were the means of the succession of the whole race. And from the visible creation, we clearly discern that His invisible things also, *being understood by the things that are made*, are not independent of each other; for it was not first one and then another, but all at once were constituted after their kind. For the Apostle did not number individually, so as to say "whether Angel, or Throne, or Dominion, or Authority," but he mentions together all according to their kind, *whether Angels, or Archangels, or Principalities:* for in this way is the generation of the creatures. If then, as I have said, the Word were creature, He must have been brought into being, not first of them, but with all the other Powers, though in glory He excel the rest ever so much. For so we find it to be in their case, that at once they came to be, with neither first nor second, and they differ from each other in glory, some on the right of the throne, some all around, and some on the

[1] Ἴδιον, p. 18, note p.

[2] pp. 263, 319.

§. 49. Rom. 1, 20.

vid. Col. 1, 16.

Disc. II. [1] pp. 267, 318.

left, but one and all praising and standing in service before the Lord[1].

10. Therefore if the Word be creature, He would not be first or beginning of the rest; yet if He be before all, as indeed He is, and is Himself alone First and Son, it does not follow that He is beginning of all things as to His Substance[1], for what is the beginning of all is in the number of all. And if He is not such a beginning, then neither is He a creature, but it is very plain that He differs in substance and nature from the creatures, and is other than they, and is Likeness and Image of the sole and true God, being Himself sole also. Hence He is not classed with creatures in Scripture, but David rebukes those who dare even to think of Him as such,

Ps. 89, 7. saying, *Who among the gods is like unto the Lord?* and *Who*

Bar. 3, 35. *is like unto the Lord among the sons of God?* and Baruch, *This is our God, and another shall not be reckoned with Him.* For the One creates, and the rest are created; and the One is the proper Word and Wisdom of the Father's Substance, and through this Word things which came to be, which before

§. 50. existed not, were made. Your famous assertion then, that the Son is a creature, is not true, but is your fantasy only; nay Solomon convicts you of having these many times misinterpreted him. For He has not called Him creature, but

vid. Prov. 3, 19. 9, 1. God's Offspring and Wisdom, saying, *God in Wisdom hath established the earth*, and *Wisdom hath built her an house.*

11. And the very passage in question proves your irreligious spirit; for it is written, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways for His works.* Therefore if He is before all things, yet says *He created Me* (not "that I might make the works," but) *for the works*, unless *He created* relates to something later than Himself, He will seem later than the works, finding them on His creation already in existence before Him, for the sake of which He is also brought into being. And

[1] He says that, though none could be "a beginning" of creation, who was a creature, yet still that such a title belongs not to His essence. It is the name of an *office* which the Eternal Word alone can fill. His Divine Sonship is both superior and necessary to that office of a "Beginning." Hence it is both true (as he says) that "if the Word is a creature, He is not a beginning;" and yet that that "beginning" is "in the number of the creatures." Though He becomes the "beginning," He is not "a beginning as to His *substance*," vid. supr. p. 251, note f. And infr. p. 367, where he says "He who is *before all*, cannot be a *beginning of all*, but is other than all," which implies that the beginning of all is not other than all. vid. p. 292, note m. on the Priesthood, and p. 303, note e.

if so, how is He before all things notwithstanding? and how were all things made through Him and consist in Him? for behold, you say that the works consisted before Him, for which He is created and sent. But it is not so; perish the thought! false is the supposition of the heretics. For the Word of God is not creature but Creator; and says in the manner of proverbs, *He created Me* when He put on created flesh. CHAP. XIX.

12. And something besides may be understood from the passage itself; for, being Son and having God for His Father, for He is His proper Offspring, yet here He names the Father Lord; not that He was servant, but because He took a servant's form. For it became Him, on the one hand being the Word from the Father, to call God Father: for this is proper to son towards father; on the other, having come to finish the work, and taken a servant's form, to name the Father Lord. And this difference He Himself has taught by an apt distinction, saying in the Gospels, *I thank Thee, O Father,* and then, *Lord of heaven and earth.* For He calls God His Father, but of the creatures He names Him Lord; as shewing clearly from these words, that, when He put on the creature[1], then it was He called the Father Lord. For in the prayer of David the Holy Spirit marks the same distinction, saying in the Psalms, *Give Thy strength unto Thy Child, and help the Son of Thine handmaid.* For the natural and true child of God is one, and the sons of the handmaid, that is, of the nature of things generate, are other. Wherefore the One, as Son, has the Father's[2] might; but the rest are in need of salvation. (But if, because He was called child[3], they idly raise a point, let them know that both Isaac was named Abraham's child, and the son of the Shunamite was called young child.) Reasonably then, we being servants, when He became as we, He too calls the Father Lord, as we do; and this He did from love to man, that we too, being servants by nature, and receiving the Spirit of the Son, might have confidence to call Him by grace Father, who is by nature our Lord. But as we, in calling the Lord Father, do not deny that servitude which is by nature, (for we are His works, and it is *He that hath made us, and not we ourselves,*) so when the Son, on taking the servant's form, says, *The Lord hath*

Matt. 11, 25.

[1] τὸ κτίσμα, i.e. σῶμα, p. 347. fin.

Ps. 86, 16.

[2] παιδίον §. 51.

[3] παῖς, i.e. servant

Ps. 100, 2.

Disc. II. *created Me a beginning of His ways,* let them not deny the eternity of His Godhead, and that *in the beginning was the Word,* and *all things were made by Him,* and *in Him all things were created.*

John 1, 1. 3. Col. 1, 16.

see margin of p. 306.

CHAP. XX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Our Lord is said to be created "for the works," i.e. with a particular purpose, which no mere creatures are ever said to be. Parallel of Isai. 49, 5. &c. When His manhood is spoken of, a reason for it is added; not so when His Divine Nature; Texts in proof.

1. For the passage in the Proverbs, as I have said before, signifies, not the Substance, but the manhood of the Word; for if He says that He was created *for the works*, He shews His intention of signifying, not His Substance, but the Economy which took place[1] *for His works*, which comes second to being. For things which are in formation and creation are made specially that they may be and exist[a], and next they have to do, whatever the Word bids them, as may be seen in the case of all things. For Adam was created, not that He might work, but that first he might be man; for it was after this that he received the command to work. And Noe was created, not because of the ark, but that first he might exist and be a man; for after this he received commandment to prepare the ark. And the like will be found in every case on inquiring into it;—thus the great Moses first was made a man, and next was entrusted with the government of the people. Therefore here too we must suppose the like; for thou seest, that the Word is not created in order to be, but, *In the beginning was the Word*, and He is afterwards sent *for the works* and the economy towards them. For before the works were made, the Son was ever, nor was there yet need that He should be created; but when the works were created and need arose afterwards of the Economy for their restoration, then it was that the Word took upon Himself

[1] γενομένην, p. 347, r. l.

[a] He says in effect, "Before the generation of the works, they were not; *but* Christ on the contrary," (not, "*was* before His generation," as Bull's hypothesis, supr. p. 272, would require, but) "is from everlasting," vid. p. 363, note a.

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this condescension[1] and assimilation to the works; which He has shewn us by the word *He created.* And through the Prophet Esaias willing to signify the like, He says again: *And now thus saith the Lord, who formed Me from the womb to be His servant, to gather together Jacob unto Him and Israel, I shall be brought together and be glorified before the Lord.*

[1] συγκατα-βῆναι.

Isai. 49, 5. Sept.

§. 52. 2. See here too, He is formed, not that He may have being, but in order to gather together the tribes, which were in existence before He was formed. For as in the former passage stands *He created,* so in this *He formed;* and as there *for the works,* so here *to gather together;* so that in every point of view it appears that *He created* and *He formed* are said after *the Word was.* For as before His forming the tribes existed, for whose sake He was formed, so does it appear that the works exist, for which He was created. And when *in the beginning was the Word,* not yet were the works, as I have said before; but when the works were made and the need required, then *He created* was said; and as if some son, when the servants were lost, and in the hands of the enemy by their own carelessness, and need was urgent, were sent by his father to succour and recover them, and on setting out were to put over him the like dress[2] with them, and should fashion himself as they, lest the capturers, recognising him[b] as the master, should take to flight and prevent his descending to those who were hidden under the earth by them; and then were any one to inquire of him, why he did so, were to make answer, "My Father thus formed and prepared me for his works," while in thus speaking, he neither implies that he is a servant nor one of the works, nor speaks of the beginning of His generation[3], but of the subsequent charge given him over the works,—in the same way the Lord also, having put over Him our flesh, and *being found in fashion as a man,* if He were questioned by those who saw Him thus and marvelled, would say, *The Lord created*

[2] p. 291.

[3] ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως, p. 304, r. 3.

[b] Vid. the well-known passage in S. Ignatius, ad Eph. 19, where the devil is said to have been ignorant of the Virginity of Mary, and the Nativity and the Death of Christ; Orig. Hom. 6. in Luc. Basil (if Basil.) Hom. in t. 2. App. p. 598. ed. Ben. and Jerome in Matt. 1, 18. who quote it. vid. also Leon. Serm. 22, 3. August. Trin. ix. 21. Clement. Eclog. Proph. p. 1002. ed. Potter.

Me the beginning of His ways for His works, and *He formed Me to gather together Israel.* CHAP. XX.

3. This again the Spirit foretels in the Psalms, saying, *Thou didst set Him over the works of Thine hands;* which elsewhere the Lord signified of Himself, *I am set as King by Him upon His holy hill of Sion.* And as, when He shone[1] in the body upon Sion, He had not His beginning of existence or of reign, but being God's Word and everlasting King, He vouchsafed that His kingdom should shine in a human way in Sion, that redeeming them and us from the sin which reigned in them, He might bring them under His Father's Kingdom, so, on being set *for the works*, He is not set for things which did not yet exist, but for such as already were and needed restoration. *He created* then and *He formed* and *He set*, having the same meaning, do not denote the beginning of His being, or of His substance as created, but His beneficent renovation which came to pass[2] for us. Accordingly, though He thus speaks, yet He taught also that He Himself existed before this, when He said, *Before Abraham was made, I am;* and *when He prepared the heavens, I was present with Him;* and *I was with Him disposing things.* And as He Himself was before Abraham was made, and Israel was made after Abraham, and plainly He exists first and is formed afterwards, and His forming signifies not His beginning of being but His taking manhood, wherein also He collects together the tribes of Israel; so, as *being always with the Father*, He Himself is Framer of the creation, and His works are evidently later than Himself, and *He created* signifies, not His beginning of being, but the economy which took place for the works, which He effected in the flesh. For it became Him, being other than the works, nay rather their Framer, to take upon Himself their renovation[3], that, whereas He is created for us, all things may be now created in Him. For when He said *He created*, He forthwith added the reason, naming *the works*, that His creation for the works might signify His becoming man for their renovation.

4. And this is usual with divine Scripture[c]; for when it sig-

[1] *ἐπιλαμψ*. vid. of the Holy Spirit Serap. i. 20, c.

[2] §. 53.

[3] p. 251, note f. infra 75, a.

[c] *Ἴδιος ἐστὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ·* and so Orat. ibid. 30, d. iii. 18, b. And *τῆς γραφῆς ἴδιος ἰσχύσης,*

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nifies the fleshly generation of the Son, it adds also the cause[1] for which He became man; but when He speaks or His servants declare any thing of His Godhead, all is said in simple diction, and with an absolute[2] sense, and without reason being added. For He is the Father's Radiance; and as the Father is, but not for any reason, neither must we seek the reason of that Radiance. Thus it is written, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;* and the wherefore it assigns not[3]; but when *the Word was made flesh*, then it adds the reason why, saying, *And dwelt among us.* And again the Apostle saying, *Who being in the form of God*, has not introduced the reason, till *He took on Him the form of a servant;* for then he continues, *He humbled Himself unto death, even the death of the cross;* for it was for this that He both became flesh and took the form of a servant. And the Lord Himself has spoken many things in proverbs; but when giving us notices about Himself, He has spoken absolutely[4]; *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and *I am the Light of the world*, and *I am the Truth;* not setting down in every case the reason, nor the wherefore, lest He should seem second to those things for which He was made. For that reason would needs take precedence of Him, without which not even He Himself had been brought into being. Paul, for instance, *separated an Apostle for the Gospel, which the Lord had promised afore by the Prophets*, was thereby made subordinate to the Gospel, of which he was made minister, and John, being chosen to prepare the Lord's way, was made subordinate to the Lord; but the Lord, not being made subordinate to any reason why He should be Word, save only that He is the Father's Offspring and Only-begotten Wisdom, when He becomes man, then assigns the reason, wherefore He is about to take flesh.

[1] vid. Naz. Orat. 30. 2.

[2] ἀπολελυμένῃ

John 1, 1.

[3] Naz. ibid.

John 1, 14.

Phil. 2, 6—8.

§. 54.

[4] ἀπολελυμένως, infr. 62.

John 14, 6. 9. 10. 10, 30. 8, 12.

Rom. 1, 1. 2.

5. For the need of man preceded His becoming man, apart from which He had not put on flesh[d]. And what the need

[d] It is the general teaching of the Fathers that our Lord would not have been incarnate had not man sinned. "Our cause was the occasion of His descent, and our transgression called forth the Word's love of man. Of His incarnation we became the ground." Athan. de Incarn. V. D. 4. vid. Thomassin. at great length de Incarn. ii. 5—11. also Petav. de Incarn. ii. 17, 7—12. Vasquez. in 3 Thom. Disp. x. 4 and 5.

was for which He became man, He Himself thus signifies, *I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me. And this is the will of Him which hath sent Me, that of all which He hath given Me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. And this is the will of My Father, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on Him may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.* And again; *I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on Me, should not abide in darkness.* And again he says; *To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.* And John has written; *For this was manifested the Son of God, that He might destroy the works of the devil.* To give a witness then, and for our sakes to undergo death, to raise man up and loose the works of the devil[e], the Saviour came, and this is the reason of His incarnate presence[1]. For otherwise a

CHAP. XX.

John 6, 38—40.

John 12, 46.

John 18, 37.

1 John 3, 8.

§. 55.

[1] Ἀνάγκην παρουσίας.

[e] Two ends of our Lord's Incarnation are here mentioned; that He might die for us, and that He might renew us, answering nearly to those specified in Rom. 4, 25. "who was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification." The general object of His coming, including both of these, is treated of in Incarn. 4—20. or rather in the whole Tract, and in the two books against Apollinaris. It is difficult to make accurate references under the former head, (vid. infr. note on 65 and 67.) without including the latter. "Since all men had to pay the debt of death, on which account especially He came on earth, therefore after giving proofs of His Divinity from His works, next He offered a sacrifice for all, &c." the passage then runs on into the other fruit of His death. ibid. 20. Vid. supr. p. 291. where he speaks of our Lord offering both Himself and us to God, and "offering our flesh," p. 294. and p. 23. Also infr. Orat. iv. 6. "When He is said to hunger, to weep and weary and to cry Eloi, which are human affections, He receives them from us and offers to His Father, interceding for us, that in Him they may be annulled." And so Theodoret, "Whereas He had an immortal nature, He willed according to equity to put a stop to death's power, taking on Him first from those who were exposed to death a first-fruit; and preserving this immaculate and guiltless of sin, He surrenders it for death to seize upon as well as others, and satiate its insatiableness; and then on the ground of its want of equity against that first-fruit, He put a stop to its iniquitous tyranny over others." Eran. iii. p. 196, 7. Vigil. Thaps. contr. Eutych. i. p. 496. (B. P. ed. 1624,) and S. Leo speaks of the whole course of redemption, i. e. incarnation, atonement, regeneration, justification, &c. as one sacrament, not drawing the line distinctly between the several agents, elements, or stages in it, but considering it to lie in the intercommunion of Christ's and our persons. Thus he says that our Lord "took on Him all our infirmities which come of sin without sin;" and "the most cruel pains and death," because "none could be rescued from mortality, unless He, in whom our common nature was innocent, allowed Himself to die by the hands of the impious;" "unde," he continues, "in se credentibus et *sacramentum* condidit et exemplum, ut unum apprehenderent *renascendo*, alterum sequerentur imitando." Serm. 63, 14. He speaks of His fortifying us against our passions and infirmities, both *sacramento susceptionis* and exemplo. Serm. 65, 2. and of a duplex remedium cujus aliud in *sacramento*, aliud in exemplo."

Disc. II. resurrection had not been, unless there had been death; and how had death been, unless He had had a mortal body?

6. This the Apostle, learning from Him, thus sets forth, Heb. 2, 14. 15. *Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage.* And, 1 Cor. 15, 21. Rom. 8, 3. 4. *Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.* And again, *For what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after* John 3, 17. *the Spirit.* And John says, *For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.* And again, the Saviour has spoken in John 9, 39. His own person, *For judgment am I come into this world, that they who see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind.* Not for Himself then, but for our salvation, and to abolish death, and to condemn sin, and to give sight to the blind, and to raise up all from the dead, has He come; but if not for Himself, but for us, by consequence not for Himself but for us is He created. But if not for Himself is He created, but for us, then He is not Himself a creature, but, as having put on our flesh, He uses such language.

7. And that this is the sense of the Scriptures, we may learn from the Apostle, who says in his Epistle to the Ephesians, Eph. 2, 14. 15. *Having broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances, to create in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace.* But if in Him the

Serm. 67, 5. also 69, 5. Elsewhere he makes the strong statement, "The Lord's passion is continued on [producitur] even to the end of the world; and as in His Saints He is honoured Himself, and Himself is loved, and in the poor He Himself is fed, is clothed Himself, so in all who endure trouble for righteousness' sake, does He Himself suffer together [compatitur], Serm. 70, 5. vid. also more or less in Serm. pp. 76. 93. 98, 9. 141. 249. 257, 8. 271. fin. and Epist. pp. 1291, 1363, 4. At other times, however, the atonement is more distinctly separated from its circumstances, pp. 136, 198, 310. but it is very difficult to draw the line. The tone of his teaching is throughout characteristic of the Fathers, and very like that of S. Athanasius.

twain are created, and these are in His body, reasonably then, bearing the twain in Himself, He is as if Himself created; for those who were created in Himself hath He made one, and He was in them, as they. And thus, the two being created in Him, He may say suitably, *The Lord hath created Me.* For as by receiving our infirmities, He is said to be infirm Himself, though not Himself infirm, for He is the Power of God, and He became sin for us and a curse, though not having sinned Himself, but because He Himself bare our sins and our curse, so[f], by creating us in Him, let Him say, *He created Me for the works*, though not Himself a creature. CHAP. XX.

8. For if, as they hold, the Substance of the Word being of created nature, therefore He says, *The Lord created Me*, being a creature, He was not created for us; but if He was not created for us, we are not created in Him; and, if not created in Him, we have Him not in ourselves but externally; as, for instance, as receiving instruction from Him as from a teacher[1]. And it being so with us, sin has not lost its reign over the flesh, being inherent and not cast out of it. But the Apostle opposes such a doctrine a little before, when he §. 56.

[1] note on iii. 19.

[f] The word αὐτὸς "Himself," is all along used, where a later writer would have said "His Person;" vid. Note, p. 165. and p. 345, note g; still there is more to be explained in this passage, which, taken in the letter, would speak a language very different from Athan.'s, as if the infirmities or the created nature of the Word were not more real than His imputed sinfulness. (vid. on the other hand infr. iii. 31—35.) But nothing is more common in theology than comparisons which are only parallel to a certain point as regards the matter in hand, especially since many doctrines do not admit of exact illustrations. Our Lord's real manhood and imputed sinfulness were alike adjuncts to His Divine Person, which was of an Eternal and Infinite Nature; and therefore His Manhood may be compared to an Attribute, or to an accident, without meaning that it really was either. The Athan. Creed compares the Hypostatic Union to that of soul and body in one man, which, as taken literally by the Monophysites became their heresy. Again S. Cyril says, "As the Bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy ointment is no more simple ointment, &c." Catech. xxi. 3. O. T. but no one contends that S. Cyril held either a change in the chrism, or no change in the bread. Hence again we find the Arians arguing from John 17, 11. that our union with the Holy Trinity is *as* that of the Adorable Persons with Each Other; vid. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. 19. and Athan. replying to the argument, infr. Orat. iii. 17—25. And so supr. "*As* we receiving the Spirit, do not lose our own proper substance, *so* the Lord, when made man for us and bearing a body, was no less God;" p. 23. yet He was God made man, and we are but the temple of God. And again Athanasius compares the Incarnation to our Lord's presence in the world in nature. Incarn. 41—42. There are comparisons, however, which, from incidental expressions or clauses, outrun this remark, as in the celebrated letter to Cæsarius, considered to be S. Chrysostom's, or in Gelasius's Tract de Duabus naturis.

Disc. II. Eph. 2, 10.

says, *For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus;* and if in Christ we are created, then it is not He who is created, but we in Him; and thus the words *He created* are for our sake. For because of our need, the Word, though being Creator, endured words which are used of creatures; which are not proper to Him, as being the Word, but are ours who are created in Him. And as, since the Father is always, so is His Word, and always being, always says, *I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him,* and *I am in the Father and the Father in Me;* so, when for our need He became man, consistently does He use language, as ourselves, *The Lord hath created Me,* that, by His dwelling in the flesh, sin might perfectly be expelled from the flesh, and we might have a free mind[g]. For what ought He, when made man, to say? "In the beginning I was man?" this were neither suitable to Him nor true; and as it beseemed not to say this, so it is natural and proper in the case of man to say, *He created* and *He made* Him.

Prov. 8, 30. John 14, 14.

9. On this account then the reason of *He created* is added, namely, the need of the works; and where the reason is

g ἐλεύθερον τὸ φρόνημα. vid. also beginning of the paragraph, where sanctification is contrasted to teaching. vid. also note on 79, infr. "Idly do ye imagine to be able to work in yourselves newness of the principle which thinks (φρονεῦντος) and actuates the flesh, expecting to do so by imitation . . . for if men could have wrought for themselves newness of that actuating principle without Christ, and if what is actuated follows what actuates, what need was there of Christ's coming?" Contr. Apoll. i. 20. fin. And again, "Ye say, 'He destroyed [the works of the devil] by not sinning;' but this is no destruction of sin. For not in Him did the devil in the beginning work sin, and so by His coming into the world and not sinning sin was destroyed; but whereas the devil had wrought sin by an after-sowing in the rational and spiritual nature of man, therefore it became impossible for nature, which was rational and had voluntarily sinned, and fell under the penalty of death, to recover itself into freedom (ἐλευθερίαν) . . Therefore came the Son of God by Himself to establish [the flesh] in His own nature from a new beginning (ἀρχὴ) and a marvellous generation." ibid. ii. 6. also Orat. iii. 33. where vid. note, and 34, b. vid. for ἀρχὴ supr. p. 250, note d. Also vid. infr. Orat. iii. 56, a. iv. 33, a. Naz. Epp. ad Cled. 1 and 2. (101, 102. Ed. Ben.) Nyssen. ad Theoph. in Apoll. p. 696. Generatio Christi origo est populi Christiani, says S. Leo; "for whoso is regenerated in Christ," he continues, "has no longer the propagation from a carnal father, but the germination of a Saviour, who therefore was made Son of man, that we might be sons of God." Serm. 26, 2. Multum fuit a Christo recepisse formam, sed plus est in Christo habere substantiam. Suscepit nos in suam proprietatem illa natura, &c. &c. Serm. 72, 2. vid. Serm. 22, 2. ut corpus regenerati fiat caro Crucifixi. Serm. 63, 6. Hæc est nativitas nova dum homo nascitur in Deo; in quo homine Deus natus est, carne antiqui seminis susceptâ, sine semine antiquo, ut illam novo semine, id est, spiritualiter, reformaret, exclusis antiquitatis sordibus expiatam. Tertull. de Carn. Christ. 17. vid. supr. p. 254, note k. and note on 64. infr. 65 and 70. and on iii. 34.

added, that reason happily explains the passage. Thus here, when He says *He created,* He sets down the cause, *the works;* on the other hand, when He signifies absolutely[1] the generation from the Father, straightway He adds, *Before all the hills He begets Me;* but He does not add the "wherefore," as in the case of *He created,* saying, *for the works,* but absolutely[1], *He begets Me,* as in the passage, *In the beginning was the Word.* For, though no works had been created, still *the Word* of God *was,* and *the Word was God.* And His becoming man would not have taken place, had not the need of men become a cause. The Son then is not a creature.

CHAP. XX.

[1] ἁπλῶς. λυμένως Prov. 8, 25.

John 1, 1.

see inscription of p. 306.

CHAP. XXI.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, PROVERBS viii. 22. CONTINUED.

Our Lord not said in Scripture to be "created," or the works to be "begotten." "In the beginning" means in the case of the works "from the beginning." Scripture passages explained. We are made by God first, begotten next; creatures by nature, sons by grace. Christ begotten first, made or created afterwards. Sense of "First-born of the dead;" of "First-born among many brethren;" of "First-born of all creation," contrasted with "Only-begotten." Further interpretation of "beginning of ways," and "for the works." Why a creature could not redeem; why redemption was necessary at all. Texts which contrast the Word and the works.

DISC. II.

1. FOR had He been a creature, He had not said, *He begets Me*, for the creatures are from without, and are works of the Maker; but the Offspring is not from without nor a work, but from the Father, and proper to His Substance. Wherefore they are creatures; this God's Word and Only-begotten
§. 57. Son. For instance, Moses did not say of the creation, "In the beginning He begat," nor "In the beginning was," but
Gen. 1, 1. *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* Nor
Ps. 119, 73. did David say in the Psalm, *Thy hands have* "begotten me," but *made me and fashioned me*, every where applying the word *made* to the creatures. But to the Son contrariwise;
Ps. 2, 7. for he has not said "I made," but *I begat*, and *He begets*
Ps. 45, 1. *Me*, and *My heart has burst with a good Word.* And in the instance of the creation, *In the beginning He made;* but in
John 1, 1. the instance of the Son, *In the beginning was the Word.*

2. And there is this difference, that the creatures are made
[1] ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς upon the beginning[1], and have a beginning of existence connected with an interval; wherefore also what is said of them, *In the beginning He made*, is as much as saying of them, "From the beginning He made:"—as the Lord, knowing that which He had made, has taught, when He silenced the
Mat. 19, 4. Pharisees, with the words, *He which made them from the*

beginning, made them male and female; for from some beginning, when they were not yet, were generate things brought into being and created. This too the Holy Spirit has signified in the Psalms, saying, *Thou, Lord, at the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth;* and again, *O think upon Thy congregation which Thou hast purchased from the beginning;* now it is plain that what takes place at the beginning, has a beginning of creation, and that from some beginning God purchased His congregation. And that *In the beginning He made,* from his saying *made,* means "began to make," Moses himself shews by saying, after the completion of all things, *And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God began to make*[1]. Therefore the creatures began to be made; but the Word of God, not having beginning[2] of being, certainly did not begin to be, nor begin to come to be, but was ever. And the works have their beginning in their making, and their beginning precedes their coming to be; but the Word, not being of things which come to be, rather comes to be Himself the Framer of those which have a beginning. And the being of things generate is measured by their becoming[3], and from some beginning doth God begin to make them through the Word, that it may be known that they were not before their generation; but the Word has His being, in no other beginning or origin[4] than the Father[a], whom they allow to be unoriginate, so that He too exists unoriginately in the Father, being His Offspring, not His creature. Thus does divine Scripture recognise the difference between the Offspring and things made, and shew that the Offspring is a Son, not begun from any beginning, but eternal; but that the thing made, as an external work of the Maker, began to come into being. John therefore delivering divine doctrine[5] about the Son, and knowing the difference of the phrases, said not, "In the beginning became" or "was made," but *In the beginning was the Word;* that we might understand "Offspring" by *was,* and not account of Him

CHAP. XXI.

Ps. 102, 25.

Ps. 74, 2.

Gen. 2, 3.

[1] ἤρξατο ποιῆσαι

[2] ἀρχή, origin.

[3] supr. p. 223, note g.

[4] ἀρχή. vid. Orat. iv. 1. note f.

§. 58.

[5] θεολογῶν, vid. p. 383, note k.

[a] In this passage "was from the beginning" is made equivalent with "was not before generation," and both are contrasted with "without beginning" or "eternal;" vid. the bearing of this on Bishop Bull's explanation of the Nicene Anathema, supr. p. 272. especially p. 275. where this passage is quoted.

Disc. II. by intervals, but believe the Son always and eternally to exist.

3. And with these proofs, why, O Arians, misunderstand the passage in Deuteronomy, and thus venture a fresh act of irreligion[b] against the Lord, saying that "He is a work," or "creature," or indeed "offspring?" for offspring and work you take to mean the same thing; but here too you shall be shewn to be as unlearned as you are irreligious. Your first
Deut. 32, 6. passage is this, *Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? hath He not made thee and created thee?* And shortly after
ibid. 18. in the same Song he says, *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee.* Now the meaning conveyed in these passages is very remarkable; for he says not first *He begat*, lest that term should be taken as indiscriminate with *He made*, and these men should have a pretence for saying, "Moses tells us indeed that God
Gen. 1, 26. said from the beginning, *Let Us make man*, but he soon after says himself, *Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful*, as if the terms were indifferent; for offspring and work are the same." But after the words *bought* and *made*, he has added last of all *begat*, that the sentence might carry its own interpretation; for in the word *made* he accurately denotes what belongs to men by nature, to be works and things made; but in the word *begat* he shews God's lovingkindness

[b] The technical sense of *εὐσέβεια, ἀσέβεια*, pietas, impietas, for *orthodoxy, heterodoxy*, has been noticed supr. p. 1, note a. and derived from 1 Tim. iii. 16. The word is contrasted ch. iv. 8. with the (perhaps Gnostic) "profane and old-wives fables," and with "bodily exercise." A curious instance of the force of the word as a turning point in controversy occurs in an Homily given to S. Basil by Petavius, Fronto Ducæus, Combefis, DuPin, Fabricius, and Oudin, doubted of by Tillemont, and rejected by Cave and Garnier, where it is said that the denial of S. Mary's perpetual virginity, though "lovers of Christ do not bear to hear that God's Mother ever ceased to be Virgin," yet "does no injury to the doctrine of *religion*, μηδὲν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας παραλυμαίνεσθαι λόγῳ, i. e. (according to the above explanation) to the doctrine of the *Incarnation*. Basil. Opp. t. 2. p. 599. vid. on the passage Petav. de Incarn. xiv. 3. §. 7. and Fronto-Duc. in loc. Pearson refers to this passage, and almost translates it, Apost. Creed, Art. 3. "Although it may be thought *sufficient for the mystery of the Incarnation*, that, when our Saviour was conceived and born, His Mother was a Virgin, though whatsoever should have followed after could have no reflective operation upon the first-fruit of her womb... yet the peculiar eminency, &c." John of Antioch furnishes us with a definition of orthodoxy, (pietas,) which is entirely Anglican. He speaks, writing to Proclus, of a letter which evidenced caution and piety or orthodoxy; "orthodoxy because you went along the royal way of *Divine Scripture* in your remarks, rightly confessing the word of truth, not venturing to declare any thing of *your own ability without Scripture testimonies;* caution, because *together with* divine Scripture you propounded also *statements of the Fathers* in order to prove what you advanced." Ap. Facund. i. 1.

exercised towards men after He had created them. And since they were ungrateful upon this, thereupon Moses reproaches them, saying first, *Do ye thus requite the Lord?* and then adds, *Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath He not made thee and created thee?* And next he says, *They sacrificed unto devils, not to God, to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not; of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful.* For God not only created them to be men, but called them to be sons, as having begotten them. For the term *begat* is here as elsewhere expressive of a Son, as He says by the Prophet, *I have begat sons and exalted them;* and generally, when Scripture wishes to signify a son, it does so, not by the term *created*, but undoubtedly by that of *begat.*

CHAP. XXI.

Deut. 32, 6.

ibid. 17.

§. 59.

4. And this John seems to say, *He gave to them power to become children of God, even to them that believe on His Name; which were begotten not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* And here too a cautious distinction[1] is appositely observed, for first he says *become*, because they are not called sons by nature but by adoption; then he says *were begotten*, because like the Jews they had altogether received the name of son, though the chosen people, as says the Prophet, *rebelled against* their Benefactor. And this is God's kindness to man, that of whom He is Maker, of them according to grace He afterwards becomes Father also; becomes, that is, when men, His creatures, receive into their hearts, as the Apostle says, *the Spirit of His Son, crying, Abba, Father*[2]. And these are they who, having received the Word, gained power from Him to become sons of God; for they could not become sons, being by nature creatures, otherwise, than by receiving the Spirit of the natural and true Son. Wherefore, that this might be, *The Word became flesh*, that He might make man capable of Godhead.

John 1, 12.

[1] παρατηρήσεως, p. 298, note a.

[2] p. 57.

5. This same meaning may be gained also from the Prophet Malachi, who says, *Hath not One God created us? Have we not all one Father?* for first he puts *created*, next *Father*, to shew, as the other writers, that from the beginning we were creatures by nature, and God is our Creator through the Word; but afterwards we were made sons, and thenceforward God the Creator becomes our Father also. Therefore *Father*

Mal. 2, 10.

Disc. II. is proper to the Son; and not "creature," but *Son* is proper to the Father. Accordingly this passage also proves, that we are not sons by nature, but the Son who is in us[c]; and again, that God is not our Father by nature, but of that Word in us, in whom and because of whom we *cry, Abba, Father*. And so in like manner, the Father calls them sons in whomsoever He sees His own Son, and says, *I begat;* since begetting is significant of a Son, and making is indicative of the works. And thus it is that we are not begotten first, but made; for it is written, *Let Us make man;* but afterwards, on receiving the grace of the Spirit, we are said thenceforth to be begotten also; just as the great Moses in his Song with an apposite meaning says first *He bought,* and afterwards *He begat;* lest, hearing *He begat,* they might forget that nature of theirs which was from the beginning; but that they might know that from the beginning they are creatures, but when according to grace they are said to be begotten, as sons, still no less than before are men works according to nature.

Gal. 4, 6.

Gen. 1, 26.

§. 60. 6. And that creature and offspring are not the same, but differ from each other in nature and the signification of the words, the Lord Himself shews even in the Proverbs. For having said, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways;* He has added, *But before all the hills He begat Me.* If then the Word were by nature and in His Substance[1] a creature, and there were no difference between offspring and creature, He would not have added, *He begat Me,* but had been satisfied with *He created,* as if that term implied *He begat;* but, as the case stands, after saying, *He created Me a beginning of His ways for His works,* He has added, not simply *begat Me,* but with the connection of the conjunction *But,* as guarding thereby the term *created,* when he says, *But before all the hills He begat Me.* For *begat Me* succeeding in such close connection to *created Me,* makes the meaning one, and shews that *created* is said with an object[2], but that *begat Me* is prior to *created Me.* For as, if He had said the reverse, "The Lord begat Me," and went on, "But before the hills He created Me," *created* would certainly

[1] vid. p. 345, note g.

[2] ch. 20.

[c] τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν υἱόν. vid. also supr. 10. circ. fin. 56. init. and τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς υἱ· κοῦντα λόγον. 61. init. Also Orat. i. 50 fin. iii. 23—25. and de Decr. 31 fin. also p. 250, note d. p. 360, note g. infr. notes on 79.

have preceded *begat*, so having said first *created*, and then added *But before all the hills He begat Me*, He necessarily shews that *begat* preceded *created*. For in saying, *Before all He begat Me*, He intimates that He is other than all things; it having been shewn to be true[1] in an earlier part of this Book, that no one creature was made before another, but all things generate subsisted at once together upon one and the same command[2]. Therefore neither do the words which follow *created*, also follow *begat Me;* but in the case of *created* is added *beginning of ways*, but of *begat Me*, He says not, "He begat me as a beginning," but *before all He begat Me*. But He who is before all is not a beginning of all, but is other than all[3]; but if other than all, (in which "all" the beginning of all is included,) it follows that He is other than the creatures; and it becomes a clear point, that the Word, being other than all things and before all, afterwards is created *a beginning of the ways for works*, because He became man, that, as the Apostle has said, He who is the *Beginning* and *First-born from the dead, in all things might have the preeminence*. CHAP. XXI.

[1] p. 329, note l.

[2] p. 349.

[3] p. 350, note l.

Col. 1, 18.

7. Such then being the difference between *created* and *begat Me*, and between *beginning of ways* and *before all*, God, being first Creator, next, as has been said, becomes Father of men, because of His Word dwelling in them. But in the case of the Word the reverse; for God, being His Father by nature, becomes afterwards both His Creator and Maker, when the Word puts on that flesh which was created and made, and becomes man. For, as men, receiving the Spirit of the Son, become children through Him, so the Word of God, when He Himself puts on the flesh of man, then is said both to be created and to have been made. If then we are by nature sons, then is He by nature creature and work; but if we become sons by adoption and grace, then has the Word also, when in grace towards us He became man, said, *The Lord hath created Me*. §. 61.

8. And in the next place, when He put on a created nature and became like us in body, reasonably was He therefore called both our Brother and *First-born*[d]. For though it was after

Rom. 8, 29.

[d] Bishop Bull's hypothesis about the sense of πρωτοτόκος τῆς κτίσεως has been commented on supr. p. 278. As far as Athan.'s discussion proceeds in this section, it only relates to πρωτοτόκος of *men*, (i. e. from the dead,) and is equivalent to the "beginning of ways."

Disc. II.

us[e] that He was made man for us, and our brother by similitude of body, still He is therefore called and is the *First-born* of us, because, all men being lost according to the transgression of Adam, His flesh before all others was saved and liberated, as being the Word's Body[1]; and henceforth we, becoming incorporate with It, are saved after Its pattern. For in It the Lord becomes our guide to the Kingdom of Heaven and to His own Father, saying, *I am the way* and *the door*, and "through Me all must enter." Whence also is He said to be *First-born from the dead*, not that He died before us, for we had died first; but because having undergone death for us and abolished it, He was the first to rise, as man, for our sakes raising His own Body. Henceforth He having risen, we too from Him and because of Him rise in due course from the dead.

[1] p. 296, r. 1. Orat. iii. 31. note. John 14, 6. 10, 9. Rev. 1, 5.

§. 62. 9. But if He is also called *First-born of the creation*[f], still this is not as if He were levelled to the creatures, and only first of them in point of time, (for how should that be, since He is *Only-begotten*?) but it is because of the Word's condescension[g] to the creatures, according to which He hath become the *Brother* of *many*. For the term *Only-begotten* is used where there are no brethren, but *First-born* because

vid. Rom. 8, 29.

[e] Marcellus seems to have argued against Asterius from the same texts, (Euseb. in Marc. p. 12.) that, since Christ is called "first-born from the dead," though others had been recalled to life before Him, therefore He is called "first-born of creation," not in point of time, but of dignity. vid. Montacut. Not. p. 11. Yet Athan. argues contrariwise. Orat. iv. 29.

[f] Here again, though speaking of the *first-born of creation*, Athan. does but view the phrase as equivalent to "first-born of the *new* creation or "*brother*," *of many*;" and so infr. "first-born because of the brotherhood He has made with many."

[g] Pp. Bull considers *συγκατάβασις* as equivalent to a figurative *γέννησις*, an idea which (vid. supr. p. 279.) seems quite foreign from Athan.'s meaning. Wessel, (who, as the present writer now finds, has preceded him in this judgment.) in his answer to Cremer, who had made use of Bull for a heterodox purpose, observes that Bull "thinks that Athanasius implies in the word *συγκατάβασις* the Word's descent or progress from the Father, and so His second birth, as it may be called, in the beginning of the world to create it. But that learned man is altogether mistaken. As may be seen in Suicer, the Greek Doctors use the word of God, even of the Father, with respect to His goodness in communicating Himself externally and attending to human infirmity, without any respect at all to a birth or descent from another. In Bull's sense of the word, Athan. could not have said that the senses of Only-begotten and First-born were contrary to each other," p. 221. Συγκαταβῆναι occurs supr. 51 fin. of the incarnation. What is meant by it will be found infr. 78—81. viz. that our Lord came "to implant in the creatures a type and semblance of His Image;" which is just what is here maintained against Bull. The whole passage referred to is a comment on the word *συγκατάβασις*, and begins and ends with an introduction of that word. Vid. also Gent. 47.

of brethren. Accordingly it is no where written in the Scriptures, "the first-born of God," nor "the creature of God;" but it is *Only-begotten* and *Son* and *Word* and *Wisdom*, that relate and are proper to the Father[h]. Thus, *We have seen His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father;* and *God sent His Only-begotten Son;* and *O Lord, Thy Word endureth for ever;* and *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God;* and *Christ the Power of God and the Wisdom of God;* and *This is My beloved Son;* and *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.* But *first-born* implied the descent[1] to the creation[1]; for of it has He been called first-born; and *He created* implies His grace towards the works, for for them is He created. If then He is Only-begotten, as indeed He is, *First-born* needs some explanation; but if He be really First-born, then He is not Only-begotten[i]. For the same cannot be both Only-begotten and First-born, except in different relations;—that is, Only-begotten, because of His generation from the Father, as has been said; and First-born, because of His condescension[1] to the creation and the brotherhood which He has made with many. Certainly, those two terms being inconsistent with each other, one should say that the attribute of being Only-begotten has justly the preference[2] in the instance of the Word, in that there is no other Word, or other Wisdom, but He alone is very Son of the Father.

CHAP. XXI.

John 1, 14. 1 John 4, 9. Ps. 119, 89. John 1, 1. 1 Cor. 1, 24. Matt. 3, 17. 16, 16.

[1] μονογενὲς—πάθος

10. Moreover[k], as was before said[3], not in connection with any

[2] p. 283, note c.

[3] p. 256.

[h] This passage, which has been urged against Bull supr. p. 278, is adduced against him by Wessel also in his answer to Cremer. (Nestorianismus Redivivus, p. 223.) All the words (says Athan.) which are proper to the Son, and describe Him fitly, are expressive of what is *internal* to the Divine Nature, as Begotten, Word, Wisdom, Glory, Hand, &c. but (as he adds presently) the *first-born*, like *beginning of ways*, is relative to creation; and therefore cannot denote our Lord's essence or Divine subsistence, but something temporal, an office, character, or the like.

[i] This passage is imitated by Theodoret. in Coloss. i. 15. but the passages from the Fathers referrible to these Orations are too many to enumerate. "If we say," observes Photius, "that Gregory Theologus and Basil the Divine drew from this work as from a fount the beautiful and clear streams of their own writings which they poured out against the heresy, I suppose we shall not be far from the mark." Cod. 140. And so of S. Cyril and, as far as his subjects allow, of S. Epiphanius.

[k] We now come to a third and wider sense of πρωτότοκος, as found (not in Rom. 8, 29. and Col. 1, 18. but) in Col. 1, 15. where by *creation* Athan. understands "all things visible and invisible." As then *for the works* was just now taken to argue that *created* was used in a relative and restricted sense, the same is shewn as regards *first-born* by the words *for in Him all things were created.*

Disc. II. reason, but absolutely[l] it is said of Him, *The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father;* but the word *First-born* has again the creation as a reason in connection with it, which Paul proceeds to say, *for in Him all things were created.* But if all the creatures were created in Him, He is other than the creatures, and is not a creature, but the Creator of the creatures. Not then because He was from the Father was He called *First-born*, but because in Him the creation came to be[m]; and as before the creation He was the Son, through whom was the creation, so also before He was called the First-born of the whole creation not the less was the Word Himself with God and the Word was God.

John 1, 18. Col. 1, 16. §. 63.

[l] ἀπιστοῦσι, misbelievers

11. But this also not understanding, these irreligious[l] men go about saying, "If He is First-born of all creation, it is plain that He too is one of the creation." Men without understanding! if He is simply *First-born of the whole creation*, then He is other than the whole creation; for he says not, "He is First-born above the rest of the creatures," lest He be reckoned to be as one of the creatures, but it is written, *of the whole creation*, that He may appear other than the creation[n]. Reuben, for instance, is not said to be first-born

[l] ἀπολελυμένως; supr. p. 261, note d. p. 356, r. 2. p. 361, r. 1. and so ἀπολύτως Theophylact to express the same distinction in loc. Coloss.

[m] It would be perhaps better to translate "first-born *to* the creature," to give Athan.'s idea; τῆς κτίσεως not being a partitive genitive, or πρωτότοκος a superlative, (though he presently so considers it,) but a simple appellative and τῆς κτ. a common genitive of relation, as "the king of a country," "the owner of a house." "First-born of creation" is like "author, type, life of creation." As, after calling our Lord in His own nature "a light," we might proceed to say that He was also "a light to the creation," or "Archluminary," so He was not only the Eternal Son, but a "Son to creation," an "archetypal Son." Hence St. Paul goes on at once to say, "for *in* Him all things were made," not simply "by and for," as at the end of the verse; or as Athan. says here, "because in Him the creation came to be." On the distinction of διὰ and ἐν, referring respectively to the first and second creations, vid. In illud Omn. 2. Wessel understands Athan.'s sense of πρωτότοκος somewhat differently, as shall be mentioned presently.

[n] To understand this passage, the Greek idiom must be kept in view, which differs from the English. As the English comparative, so the Greek superlative implies or admits the exclusion of the subject of which it is used, from the things with which it is contrasted. Thus "Solomon is wiser than the heathen," implies of course that he was not a heathen: but the Greeks can say, "Solomon is wisest of the heathen," or according to Milton's imitation "the fairest of her daughters Eve." Vid. as regards the very word πρῶτος, John 1, 15; and supr. p. 321, r. 5. also πλείστην ἢ ἱματισμὸν ἐξουσίαν 3 Machab. 7, 21. Accordingly as in the comparative to obviate this exclusion, we put in the word *other*, (ante *alios* immanior omnes,) so too in the Greek superlative, "Socrates is wisest of *other* heathen." Athanasius then says in this passage, that "first-born of creatures" implies that our Lord was not a creature; whereas it is not said of Him "first-born of brethren," lest He should be excluded from men, but "first-born *among* brethren," where *among* is equivalent to *other*.

of all the children of Jacob[o], but of Jacob himself and his brethren; lest he should be thought to be some other beside the children of Jacob. Nay, even concerning the Lord Himself the Apostle says not, "that He may become First-born of all," lest He be thought to bear a body other than ours, but *among many brethren*, because of the likeness of the flesh. If then the Word also were one of the creatures, Scripture would have said that He was First-born of other creatures; but now the sacred writers saying that He is *First-born of the whole creation*, the Son of God is plainly shewn to be other than the whole creation and not a creature. For if He is a creature, He will be First-born of Himself. How then is it possible, O Arians, for Him to be before and after Himself? next, if He is a creature, and the whole creation through Him came to be, and in Him consists, how can He both create the creation and be one of the things which consist in Him?

CHAP. XXI.

Rom. 8, 29.

Col. 1, 15.

12. Since then such a notion[l] is in itself extravagant, it is proved against them by the truth, that He is called *First-born among many brethren* because of the relationship of the flesh, and *First-born from the dead*, because the resurrection of the dead is from Him and after Him; and *First-born of the whole creation*, because of the Father's love to man, which brought it to pass that in His Word not only *all things consist*, but the creation itself, of which the Apostle speaks, *waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, shall be delivered* one time *from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*[p]. Of this creation thus delivered, the Lord will be First-born, both of it and of all those who are made children, that by His being called

[l] ἀνοίας

Col. 1, 17.

Rom. 8, 19. 21.

[o] *βουβὼν, πρωτότοκός μου, σὺ ἰσχύς μου, καὶ ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου* Gen. 49, 3. Sept. Wessel considers that Athan. understands "first-born" to mean "heir," as in the case of the Patriarchs; and he almost seems to have these words in his mind, (because none other to his purpose occur in the passage,) though Reuben was not the heir of Jacob. His interpretation of the word is, that when the Son of God came into the world, He took the title of "first-born" or "heir," "Princeps et Dominus creaturæ," p. 322; "lest He should be thought a mere man, and that He might be accounted Lord of all creatures and believers, as having created all things, and new created all the predestined." p. 216. Yet what Athan. says in 64, init. is surely inconsistent with this. Vid. also contr. Gent. 41, f. where the text Col. 1, 15. is quoted.

[p] Thus there are two senses in which our Lord is "first-born to the creation;" viz. in its first origin, and in its restoration after man's fall; as he says more clearly in the next section.

Disc. II. first, those that come after Him may abide[1], as depending on the Word as a beginning[2].

[1] διαμονή, vid. p. 32, note q. §. 64.

[2] p. 250, note d.

[3] p. 366, r. 1.

13. And I think that the irreligious men themselves will be shamed from such a thought; for if the case stands not as we have said, but they will rule it that He is *First-born of the whole creation* as in substance[3] a creature among creatures, let them reflect that they will be conceiving Him as brother and fellow of the things without reason and life. For of the whole creation these also are parts; and the *First-born* must be first indeed in point of time but only thus, and in kind and similitude[4] must be the same with all. How then can they say this without exceeding all measures of irreligion? or who will endure them, if this is their language? or who can but hate them even imagining such things? For it is evident to all, that neither for Himself, as being a creature, nor as having any connection according to substance[3] with the whole creation, has He been called *First-born* of it; but because the Word, when at the beginning He framed the creatures, condescended[5] to things generate, that it might be possible for them to come to be. For they could not have endured His untempered[6] nature and His splendour from the Father, unless condescending[5] by the Father's love for man He had supported them and taken hold of them and brought them into substance[q]; and next, because, by this condescension[5] of the Word, the creation too is made a son[r] through Him, that He might be in all respects *First-born* of it, as has been said, both in creating, and also in being brought for the sake of all into this very world. For so it is written, *When He bringeth the First-born into the world, He saith, Let all the Angels of God worship Him.* Let Christ's enemies

[4] p. 309.

[5] συγκαταβάσεως, p. 13, r. 1.

[6] ἄκρατον, p. 13, r. 1.

Heb. 1, 6.

[q] He does not here say with Asterius that God could not create man immediately, for the Word is God, but that He did not create him without at the same time infusing a grace or presence from Himself into his created nature to enable it to endure His external plastic hand; in other words, that he was created *in Him*, not as something external to Him, (in spite of the διὰ supr. note m.) vid. supr. p. 32, note q. and Gent. 47. where the συγκατάβασις is spoken of.

[r] As God *created* Him, in that he created human nature in Him, so is He *first-born*, in that human nature is adopted in Him. What is here said of πρωτότοκος is surely larger than Wessel's interpretation of the word. Rather S. Leo gives S. Athanasius's sense; "Human nature has been taken into so close an union by the Son of God, that not only in that Man who is the 'first-born of the whole creation,' but even in all His saints *is one and the same Christ.*" Serm. 63. 3. i. e. the title *first-born* has reference not to our Lord *as heir*, but as *representative* of His Brethren.

hear and tear themselves to pieces[1], because His coming into the world is what makes Him called *First-born* of all; and thus the Son is the Father's *Only-begotten*, because He alone is from Him, and He is the *First-born of creation*, because of this adoption of all as sons[a]. CHAP. XXI. [1] p. 314, note o.

14. And as He is First-born among brethren and rose from the dead *the first fruits of them that slept;* so, since it became Him *in all things to have the preeminence*, therefore He is created *a beginning of ways*, that we, walking along it and entering through Him who says, *I am the Way* and *the Door*, and partaking of the knowledge of the Father, may also hear the words, *Blessed are the undefiled in the Way*, and *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* And thus since the truth declares that the Word is not by nature a creature, it is fitting now to say, in what sense He is *beginning of ways.* For when the first way, which was through Adam was lost, and in place of paradise we deviated unto death, and heard the words, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt* 1 Cor. 15, 20. Col. 1, 18. Ps. 119, 1. Matt. 5, 8. §. 65. Gen. 3, 19.

[a] Thus he considers that "first-born" is mainly a title, connected with the Incarnation, and also connected with our Lord's office at the creation. (vid. parallel of Priesthood, p. 292, note m. p. 303, note e.) In each economy it has the same meaning; it belongs to Him as the type, idea, or rule on which the creature was made or new-made, and the life by which it is sustained. Both economies are mentioned Incarn. 13, 14. And so εἷναι καὶ τόπος περὶ ἀρετῆν. Orat. i. 51. where vid. (supr. p. 254.) note i. τόπον τινὰ λαβόντες and ἐνεγεμμὲν, iii. 20. vid. also 21. ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμὲν περιτετυπωμένοι infr. 76. init. He came τόπον εἰκόνος ἐνδῦναι 78. init. τὸν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου πλάσιν ἀνατήσασθαι ἑαυτῷ contr. Apol. ii. 5. Also καταφραγίσθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τῆς εἰκόνος Cyr. in Joan. p. 91. οἷον ἀπὸ τινὸς ἀρχῆς Nyss. Catech. p. 504. fin. And so again, as to the original creation, the Word is διὰ καὶ ὑφεγμα, of all material things. Athan. Leg. 10. ἡ διὰ ὅτι ἐκ λόγου εἰρήκασι. Clem. Strom. v. 3. διὰν διῶν καὶ ἀρχὴν λαμπὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως Origen. contr. Cels. vi. 64. fin. "Whatever God was about to make in the creature, was already in the Word, nor would be in the things, were it not in the Word." August. in Psalm 44, 5. He elsewhere calls the Son, "ars quædam omnipotentis atque sapientis Dei, plena omnium rationum viventium incommutabilium." de Trin. vi. 11. And so Athan. infr. πρωτότοκος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως. iii. 9. fin. Eusebius, in commenting on the very passage which Athan. is discussing, (Prov. 8, 22.) presents a remarkable contrast to these passages, as making the Son, not the διὰ, but the external minister of the Father's διὰ. "The Father *designed* (διατύπου) and prepared with consideration, *how* and *of what shape, measure*, and *parts* . . . . And He watching (ἐνατενίζων) the Father's thoughts and alone beholding the depths in Him, went about the work, subserving the Father's orders, (πάμασι) . . . . as a skilful painter, taking *the archetypal ideas from the Father's thoughts*, He *transferred* them to the substances of the works." de Eccl. Theol. pp. 164, 5. S. Cyril says, what will serve as a contrast, "The Father shews the Son what He does Himself, *not* as if setting it before Him drawn out on a tablet, or teaching as ignorant; for He knows all things as God; but as depicting Himself whole in the nature of the Offspring," &c. in Joann. p. 222. vid. supr. p. 324, note b.

Disc. II. *thou return*, therefore the Word of God, who loves man, puts on Him created flesh at the Father's will[1], that whereas the first man had made it dead through the transgression, He Himself might quicken it in the blood of His proper Body[t], and might open *for us a way new and living*, as the Apostle says, *through the veil, that is to say, His flesh;* which he signifies elsewhere thus, *Wherefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creation; old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new.* But if a new creation has come to pass, some one must be first of this creation; mere[2] man then, made of earth only, such as we are become from the transgression, could not be he. For in the first creation, men had become unfaithful, and through them that first creation had been lost; and there was need of some one else to renew the first creation, and preserve the new which had come to be.

[1] p. 324, note c.

Heb. 10, 20.

2 Cor. 5, 17.

[2] ψιλὸς

15. Therefore from love to man none other than the Lord, the *beginning* of the new creation, is created as *the Way*, and consistently says, *The Lord created Me a beginning of ways for His works;* that man might converse no longer according to that first creation, but as having a beginning of a new creation, and in it the Christ *a beginning of ways*, we might follow Him henceforth, who says to us, *I am the Way:*—as the blessed Apostle teaches in his Epistle to the Colossians, saying, *He is the Head of the body, the Church, who is the Beginning, the First-born from the dead, that in all things* §. 66. *He might have the pre-eminence.* For if, as has been said, because of the resurrection from the dead He is called a beginning, and then a resurrection took place when He,

[t] Vid. supr. p. 250, note d. p. 254, note k. p. 360, note g. "We could not otherwise," says S. Irenæus, "receive incorruption and immortality, but by being united to incorruption and immortality. But how could this be, unless incorruption and immortality had first been made what we are? that corruption might be absorbed by incorruption and mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of Sons." Hær. iii. 19, n. 1. "He took part of flesh and blood, that is, He became man, whereas He was Life by nature, . . . that uniting Himself to the corruptible flesh according to the measure of its own nature, ineffably, and inexpressibly, and as He alone knows, He might bring it to His own life, and render it partaker through Himself of God and the Father. . . . For He bore our nature, refashioning it into His own life; . . . He is in us through the Spirit, turning our natural corruption into incorruption and changing death to its contrary." Cyril. in Joan. lib. ix. cir. fin. This is the doctrine of S. Athanasius and S. Cyril, one may say, *passim*.

bearing our flesh, had given Himself to death for us, it is evident that His words, *He created Me a beginning of ways,* is indicative not of His substance[1], but of His bodily presence. For to the body death was proper[a]; and in like manner to the bodily presence are the words proper, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways.* For since the Saviour was thus created according to the flesh, and had become a beginning of things new created, and had our first fruits, viz. that human flesh which He took to Himself, therefore after Him, as is fit, is created also the people to come, David saying, *This shall be written for another generation, and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord.* And again in the twenty-first Psalm, *They shall come, and the heavens shall declare His righteousness, unto a people that shall be born whom the Lord hath made.* For we shall no more hear, *In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die;* but *Where I am, there ye* shall *be also;* so that we may say, *We are His workmanship, created unto good works.* CHAP. XXI.

[1] p. 345, note g.

Ps. 102, 18.

Ps. 22, 32.

Gen. 2, 17.

John 14, 3.

Eph. 2, 10.

16. And again, since God's work, that is, man, though created perfect, has become wanting through the transgression, and dead in sin, and it was unbecoming that the work of God should remain imperfect, (wherefore all the saints[2] beseech concerning this, for instance in the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, saying, *The Lord shall make good His loving-kindness towards me; despise not then the works of Thine own hands;*) therefore the perfect Word of God puts around Him an imperfect body[3], and is said to be created *for the works;* that, paying the debt[x] in our stead, He might, by

[2] ἅγιοι, p. 325, r. 1.

Ps. 138, 8.

[3] contr. Orat. iv. 11.

[a] Athanasius here says that our Lord's body was subject to death; and so elsewhere, "His body, as having a common substance with all men, for it was a human body, though by a new marvel, it subsisted of the Virgin alone, yet, *being mortal,* died after the common course of the like natures." Incarn. 20, e. also 8, b. 18. init. Orat. iii. 56. And so τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθυπόστατα. Orat. iv. 33. And so S. Leo in his Tome lays down that in the Incarnation, suscepta est ab æternitate mortalitas. Ep. 28. 3. And S. Austin, Utique vulnerabile atque mortale corpus habuit [Christus] contr. Faust. xiv. 2. A Eutychian sect denied this doctrine (the Aphthartodocetæ), and held that our Lord's manhood was naturally indeed corrupt, but became from its union with the Word incorrupt from the moment of conception; and in consequence it held that our Lord did not suffer and die, except by miracle. vid. Leont. c. Nest. ii. (Canis. t. i. pp. 563, 4, 8.) vid. supr. pp. 241—3, notes h and i; also infr. p. 389, note c. And further, note on iii. 57.

[x] ἀντ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδούς, and so the Lord's death λύτρον πάντων Incarn. V. D. 25. λύτρον καθάρσιον. Naz. Orat. 30, 20. fin. also supr. 9. c. 13, b. 14, a. 47, b, c. 55, c. 67, d. In illud Omn. 2 fin.

Disc. II. Himself, perfect what was wanting to man. Now immortality was wanting to him, and the way to paradise. This then is

John 17, 4. what our Saviour says, *I have glorified Thee on the earth, I have perfected the work which Thou gavest Me to do;* and

John 5, 36. again, *The works which the Father hath given Me to perfect, the same works that I do, bear witness of Me;* but *the works* He here says that the Father had given Him to perfect, are those for which He is created, saying in the Proverbs, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways, for His works;* for it is all one to say, *The Father hath given Me the works,* and *The Lord hath created Me for the works.*

§. 67. 17. When then received He the works to perfect, O God's enemies? for from this also *He created* will be understood. If ye say, "At the beginning when He brought them into being out of what was not," it is an untruth; for they were not yet made; whereas He appears to speak as taking what was already in being. Nor is it pious[1] to refer to the time which preceded the Word's becoming flesh, lest His coming should thereupon seem superfluous, since for the sake of these works that coming took place. Therefore it remains for us to say that when He became man, then He took the works. For then He perfected them, by healing our wounds and vouchsafing to us the resurrection from the dead. But if, when the Word became flesh, then were given to Him the works, plainly when He became man, then also is He created for the works. Not of His substance[2] then is *He created* indicative, as has many times been said, but of His bodily generation. For then, because the works were become imperfect and mutilated from the transgression, He is said in respect to the body to be created; that by perfecting them and making them whole, He might present the Church unto the Father, as the Apostle says, *not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish.* Mankind then is perfected in Him and restored, as it was made at the beginning, nay, with greater grace. For, on rising from the dead, we shall no longer fear death, but shall ever reign in Christ in the heavens.

[1] ἀκυρα

[2] p. 375, r. 1.

Eph. 5, 27.

18. And this has been done, since the proper Word of God Himself, who is from the Father, has put on the flesh, and

become man. For if, being a creature, He had become man, man had remained just what he was, not joined to God; for how had a work been joined to the Creator by a work[c]? or what succour had come from like to like, when one as well as other needed it[d]? And how, were the Word a creature, had He power to undo God's sentence, and to remit sin, whereas it is written in the Prophets, that this is God's doing? For *who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by transgression?* For whereas God has said, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*, men have become mortal; how then could things generate undo sin? but the Lord is He who has undone it, as He says Himself, *Unless the Son shall make you free;* and the Son, who made free, has shewn in truth that He is no creature, nor one of things generate, but the proper Word and Image of the Father's Substance, who at the beginning sentenced, and alone remitteth sins. For since it is said in the Word, *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*, suitably through the Word Himself and in Him the freedom and the undoing of the condemnation has come to pass.

CHAP. XXI.

Mic. 7, 18. Gen. 3, 19.

vid. John 8, 36.

[c] Vid. p. 15, note e. also p. 251. and p. 303, with note e. "How could we be partakers of that adoption of sons, unless through the Son we had received from Him that communion with Him, unless His Word had been made flesh, and had communicated it to us." Iren. Hær. iii. 20.

[d] "Therefore was He made man, that, what was as though given to Him, might be transferred to us; for a mere man had not merited this, nor had the Word Himself needed it. He was united therefore to us, &c." infr. Orat. iv. 6. vid. also iii. 33 init. "There was need He should be both man and God; for unless He were man, He could not be killed; unless He were God, He would have been thought, not, unwilling to be what He could, but unable to do what He would." August. Trin. xiii. 18. "Since Israel could become sold under sin, he could not redeem himself from iniquities. He only could redeem, who could not sell Himself; who did no sin, He is the redeemer from sin." Id. in Psalm. 129, n. 12. "In this common overthrow of all mankind, there was but one remedy, the birth of some son of Adam, a stranger to the original prevarication and innocent, to profit the rest both by his pattern and his merit. Since natural generation hindered this, .. the Lord of David became his Son." Leon. Serm. 28, n. 3. "Seek neither a 'brother' for thy redemption, but one who surpasses thy nature; nor a mere 'man,' but a man who is God, Jesus Christ, who alone is able to make propitiation for us all . . . One thing has been found sufficient for all men at once, which was given as the price of ransom of our soul, the holy and most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He poured out for us all." Basil. in Psalm. 48, n. 4. "One had not been sufficient instead of all, had it been simply a man; but if He be understood as God made man, and suffering in His own flesh, the whole creation together is small compared to Him, and the death of one flesh is enough for the ransom of all that is under heaven." Cyril. de rect. fid. p. 132. vid. also Procl. Orat. i. p. 63. (ed. 1630.) Vigil. contr. Eutych. v. p. 529, e. Greg. Moral. xxiv. init. Job. ap. Phot. 222. p. 583.

Disc. II. §. 68.

19. "Yet," they say, "though the Saviour were a creature, God was able to speak the word only and undo the curse." And so another will tell them in like manner, "Without His coming among us at all, God was able just to speak and undo the curse;" but we must consider what was expedient for mankind, and not what simply is possible with God[e]. He could have destroyed, before the ark of Noah, the then transgressors; but He did it after the ark. He could too, without Moses, have spoken the word only and have brought the people out of Egypt; but it profited to do it through Moses. And God was able without the judges, to save His people; but it was profitable for the people that for a season judges should be raised up to them. The Saviour too might have come among us from the beginning, or on His coming might not have been delivered to Pilate; but He came *at the fulness of the ages*, and when sought for said, *I am He*. For what He does, that is profitable for men, and was not fitting in any other way; and what is profitable and fitting, for that He provides[f]. Accordingly He came, not *that He might be ministered unto, but that He might minister*, and might work our salvation. Certainly He was able to speak the Law from heaven, but He saw that it was expedient to men for Him to speak from Sinai; and that He did, that it might be possible for Moses to go up, and for them hearing the word near

Gal. 4, 4. John 18, 5.

vid. Mat. 20, 28.

[e] Vid. also Incarn. 44. In this statement Athan. is supported by Naz. Orat. 19, 13. Theodor. adv. Gent. vi. p. 876, 7. August. de Trin. xiii. 13. It is denied in a later age by S. Anselm, but S. Thomas and the schoolmen side with the Fathers. vid. Petav. Incarn. ii. 13. However, it will be observed from what follows that Athan. thought the Incarnation still absolutely *essential* for the renewal of human nature in holiness. In like manner in the Incarn. after saying that to accept mere repentance from sinners would not have been fitting, οὐλόγως, he continues, "Nor does repentance recover us from our natural state, it does but stop us from our sins. Had there been but a fault committed, and not a subsequent corruption, repentance had been well; but if, &c." 7. That is, we might have been pardoned, we could not have been new-made, without the Incarnation; and so supr. 67.

[f] "Was it not in His power, had He wished it, even in a day to bring on the whole rain [of the deluge]? in a day, nay in a moment?" Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 24, 7. He proceeds to apply this principle to the pardon of sin. "Now, while this short portion of Holy Lent still remains to you, ye shall be able both to wash away your sins and to gain much mercy from God. For not many days, nor time doth the Lord require, but even in these two weeks, if we will, shall we make a great correction of our offences. For if the Ninevites, after shewing a repentance of three days, He repaid with so much mercy, &c." On the subject of God's power as contrasted with His acts, Petavius brings together the statements of the Fathers, de Deo, v. 6.

them the rather to believe. Moreover, the good reason of what He did may be seen thus; if God had but spoken, because it was in His power, and so the curse had been undone, the power had been shewn of Him who gave the word, but man had become such as Adam was before the transgression, having received grace from without[s], and not having it united to the body; (for he was such when he was placed in Paradise,) nay, perhaps had become worse, because he had learned to transgress. Such then being his condition, had he been seduced by the serpent, there had been fresh need for God to give command and undo the curse; and thus the need had become interminable, and men had remained under guilt not less than before, as being enslaved to sin; and, ever sinning, would have ever needed one to pardon them, and had never become free, being in themselves flesh, and ever worsted by the Law because of the infirmity of the flesh. CHAP. XXI. εἰς ἄπαυστον, de Decr. 8. b. σάρκας

20. Again, if the Son were a creature, man had remained mortal as before, not being joined to God; for a creature had not joined creatures to God, as seeking itself one to join it[1]; nor would a portion of the creation have been the creation's salvation, as needing salvation itself. To provide against this also, He sends His own Son, and He becomes Son of Man, by taking created flesh; that, since all were under sentence of death, He, being other than them all, might Himself for all offer to death His own body; and that henceforth, as if all had died through Him, the word of that sentence might be accomplished, (for *all died* in Christ,) and all §. 69. [1] p. 15, fin. 2 Cor. 5, 15.

[s] Athan. here seems to say that Adam in a state of innocence had but an external divine assistance, not an habitual grace; this, however, is contrary to his own statements already referred to, and the general doctrine of the fathers. vid. e. g. Cyril. in Joann. v. 2. He must be interpreted by S. Austin, who uses similar yet plainer language in contrasting the grace of the first and the Second Adam. "An aid was [given to the first Adam] which he might desert when he willed, in which he might remain if he willed, not by which it came to pass that he willed. But a more powerful grace is given to the Second. The first is that by which a man has justice if he will; the second does more, for by it he also wills, and wills so strongly and loves so ardently, as to overcome the will of the flesh lusting contrariwise to the will of the spirit," &c. de Corr. et Grat. 31. vid. also infr. p. 389, note b. and S. Cyril. "Our forefather Adam seems to have gained wisdom, not in time, as we, but appears perfect in understanding from the very first moment of his formation, preserving in himself the illumination given him by nature from God as yet untroubled and pure, and leaving the dignity of his nature unpractised on," &c. in Joan. p. 75.

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through Him might thereupon become free from sin and from the curse which came upon it, and might truly abide[1] for ever, risen from the dead and clothed in immortality and incorruption. For, the Word being clothed in the flesh, as has many times been explained, every wound of the serpent began to be utterly staunched from out it; and whatever evil sprung from the motions of the flesh, to be cut away, and with these death also was abolished, the companion of sin, as the Lord Himself says, *The prince of this world cometh, and findeth nothing in Me;* and *For this end was He manifested,* as John has written, *that He might destroy the works of the devil.* And these being destroyed from out the flesh, we all were thus liberated by the relationship of that flesh, and henceforward are joined, even we, to the Word. And being joined to God, no longer do we abide upon earth; but, as He Himself has said, where He is, there shall we be also; and henceforward we shall fear no longer the serpent, for he was brought to nought when he was assailed by the Saviour in the flesh, and heard Him say, *Get thee behind Me, Satan,* and thus he is cast out of paradise into the eternal fire. Nor shall we have to watch against woman seducing us, for *in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels;* and in Christ Jesus it shall be *a new creation,* and *neither male nor female, but all and in all Christ;* and where Christ is, what fear, what danger can still happen? But this would not have come to pass, had the Word been a creature; for with a creature the devil, himself a creature, would have ever continued the battle, and man, being between the two[2], had been ever in peril of death, not having, in whom and through whom he might be joined to God and delivered from all fear.

[1] ἀμείνωσιν, vid. p. 372, r. l. p. 385, r. 4. Gent. 41, e. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 5. John 14, 30. ἴχνη t. rec. ἐνέσχε Ath. et al. 1 John 3, 8. Mat. 16, 23. Mark 12, 25. Gal. 6, 15. 3, 28.

§. 70.

[2] μέσος ὢν ὁ ἄνθρ. al. Vers. Lat.

21. Whence the truth shews us[3] that the Word is not of things generate, but rather Himself their Framer. For therefore did He assume the body generate and human, that having renewed it as its Framer, He might make it god[h]

[3] p. 328, note l.

[h] ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοποιήσῃ. vid. also ad Adelph. 4. a. Serap. i. 24, e. and p. 360, note g. and iii. 33. "The Word was made flesh that we, partaking of the Spirit, might be made gods." supra. p. 23. "He deified that which He put on." p. 240. vid. also pp. 23, 151, 236, 245, 348. Orat. iii. 23. fin. 33. init. 34. fin. 38, b. 39, d. 48. fin. 53. For our becoming θεοὶ vid. Orat. iii. 25. θεοὶ κατὰ χάριν. Cyr. in Joan. p. 74. θεοφορεῖσθαι Orat. iii. 23, c. 41, a. 45 init. χριστόφορος. ibid. θεοῦσθαι. iii. 48 fin. 53. Theodor. Hist. i. p. 846. init.

in Himself, and thus might introduce all us into the kingdom of heaven after His likeness. For man had not been[1] made god if joined to a creature, or unless the Son were very God; nor had man been brought into the Father's presence, unless He had been His natural and true Word who had put on the body. And as we had not been delivered from sin and the curse, unless it had been by nature human flesh, which the Word put on, (for we should have had nothing common with what was foreign,) so also the man had not been made god, unless the Word who became flesh had been by nature from the Father and true and proper to Him. For therefore the union was of this kind, that He might unite what is man by nature to Him who is in the nature of the Godhead, and his salvation and deification might be sure. Therefore let those who deny that the Son is from the Father by nature and proper to His Substance, deny also that He took true human flesh[2] of Mary Ever-Virgin[1]; for in neither case had it been of profit to us men, whether the Word were not true and naturally Son of God, or the flesh not true which He assumed. But surely He took true flesh,

CHAP. XXI.

[1] πάλιν

[2] vid. p. 345, note g.

[1] Vid. also Athan. Comm. in Luc. ap. Coll. Nov. p. 43. This title, which is commonly applied to S. Mary by later writers, is found Epiph. Hær. 78, 5. Didym. Trin. i. 27. p. 84. Rufin. Fid. i. 43. Lepor. ap. Cassian. Incarn. i. 5. Leon. Ep. 28, 2. Cæsarius has ἀειπαῖς. Qu. 20. On the doctrine itself vid. a letter of S. Ambrose and his brethren to Siricius, and the Pope's letter in response. (Coust. Ep. Pont. p. 669—682.) As we are taught by the predictions of the Prophets that a Virgin was to be Mother of the promised Messias, so are we assured by the infallible relation of the Evangelists, that this Mary "was a Virgin when she bare Him....Neither was the act of parturition more contradictory to virginity, than the former of conception. Thirdly, we believe the Mother of our Lord to have been, not only before and after His nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin... The peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that Mother, the special honour and reverence due unto her Son and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged as the Ever-Virgin Mary." Creed, Art. 3. (vid. supr. p. 364, note b.) He adds that "many have taken the boldness to deny this truth, because not recorded in the sacred writ," but "with no success." He replies to the argument from "until" in Matt. 1, 25. by referring to Gen. 28, 15. Deut. 34, 6. 1 Sam. 15, 35. 2 Sam. 6, 23. Matt. 28, 20. He might also have referred to Psalm 110, 1. 1 Cor. 15, 25. which are the more remarkable, because they were urged by the school of Marcellus as a proof that our Lord's kingdom would have an end, and are explained by Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. 13, 14. Vid. also Cyr. Cat. 15, 29; where the true meaning of "until" (which may be transferred to Matt. 1, 25.) is well brought out. "He who is King *before* He subdued His enemies, how shall He not *the rather* be King, after He has got the mastery over them?" vid. also note on S. Thomas's Catena, O. T. in loc. vid. also Suicer de Symb. Niceno-Const. p. 231. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. 28, 11.

Disc. II. though Valentinus rave; and[1] the Word was by nature Very God, though Ariomaniacs rave[2]; and in that flesh has come to pass the beginning[3] of our new creation, He being created man for our sake, and having made for us that new way, as has been said.

[1] ἦν γάρ.
[2] p. 91, note q.
[3] ἀρχὴ, origin, p. 250, note d.

§. 71. 22. The Word then is neither creature nor work; for creature, thing made, work, are all one; and were He creature and thing made, He would also be work. Accordingly He has not said, "He created Me a work," nor "He made Me with the works," lest He should appear to be in nature and substance[4] a creature; nor, "He created Me to make works," lest, on the other hand, according to the perverseness of the irreligious, He should seem as an instrument[5] made for our sake. Nor again has He declared, "He created Me before the works," lest, as He really is before all, as an Offspring, so, if created also before the works, He should give "Offspring" and *He created* the same meaning. But He has said with exact discrimination[6], *for the works;* as much as to say, "The Father has made Me into flesh, that I might be man," which again shews that He is not a work but an offspring. For as he who comes into a house, is not part of the house, but is other than the house, so He who is created for the works, must be by nature other than the works.

[4] p. 345, note g.
[5] ἔργανον, note on iii. 31.
[6] p. 298, note a.

23. But if otherwise, as you hold, O Arians, the Word of God be a work, by what[7] Hand and Wisdom did He Himself come into being; for all things that came to be, came by the Hand and Wisdom of God, who Himself says, *My hand hath made all these things;* and David says in the Psalm, *And Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands;* and again, in the hundred and forty-second Psalm, *I do remember the time past, I muse upon all Thy works, yea I exercise myself in the works of Thy hands.* Therefore if by the Hand of God the works are wrought, and it is written that *all things were made through the Word,* and *without Him was made not one thing,* and again, *One Lord Jesus, through whom are all things,* and *in Him all things consist,* it is very plain that the Son cannot be a work, but He is the Hand[8] of God and the Wisdom. This knowing, the martyrs in Babylon, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael,

[7] p. 311, note k.
Is. 66, 2.
Ps. 102, 25.
Ps. 143, 5.
John 1, 3.
1 Cor. 8, 9.
Col. 1, 17.
[8] p. 323, note a.

arraign the Arian irreligion. For when they say, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord*, they recount things in heaven, things on earth, and the whole creation, as works; but the Son they name not. For they say not, "Bless, O Word, and praise, O Wisdom;" to shew that all other things are both praising and are works; but the Word is not a work nor of those that praise, but is praised with the Father and worshipped and confessed as God[k], being His Word and Wisdom, and of the works the Framer. CHAP. XXI.

24. This too the Spirit has declared in the Psalms with a most apposite distinction, *the Word of the Lord is true, and all His works are faithful;* as in another Psalm too He says, *O Lord, how manifold are Thy works! in Wisdom hast Thou made them all.* But if the Word were a work, then certainly He as others had been made in Wisdom; nor would Scripture have distinguished Him from the works, nor while it named them works, evangelised Him as Word and proper Wisdom of God. But, as it is, distinguishing Him from the works, He shews that Wisdom is Framer of the works, and not a work. This distinction Paul also observes, writing to the Hebrews, *The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, reaching even to the dividing of soul and spirit, joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, neither is there any creation hidden before Him, but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of Him with whom is our account.* For behold he calls things generate creation; but the Son he recognises as the Word of God, as if He were other than the creatures. And again saying, *All things are naked and open to the eyes of Him with whom is our account*, he signifies that He is other than all of them. For hence it is that He judges, but each of all things generate is bound to give account to Him. And so also, when the whole creation is groaning together with us in order to be set free from the bondage of corruption, the Son is thereby shewn to be other than the creatures. For if He were creature, He too would be

Ps. 33, 4.

Ps. 104, 24. §. 72.

Heb. 4, 12. 13.

[k] *διολογούμενος*. vid. supr. p. 56, note k. also Incarn. c. Ar. 3. 19, d. Serap. i. 28. a. 29. d. 31. d. contr. Sab. Greg. and passim ap. Euseb. contr. Marcell. e. g. p. 42, d. 86, a. 99, d. 122, c. 124, b. &c. *συνομολογεῖν*, In Illud Omn. 6, b. contr. Sab. Greg. §. 4, f.

Disc. II. one of those who groan, and would need one who should bring adoption and deliverance to Himself as well as others. And if the whole creation groans together, in behalf of freedom from the bondage of corruption, whereas the Son is not of those that groan nor of those who need freedom, but He it is who gives sonship and freedom to all, saying to the Jews of His time[1], *The servant remains not in the house for ever, but the Son remaineth for ever; if then the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed;* it is clearer than the light from these considerations, that the Word of God is not a creature but true Son, and by nature genuine, of the Father. Concerning then *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of the ways*, this is sufficient, as I think, though in few words, to afford matter to the learned to frame more ample refutations of the Arian heresy.

[1] τοῖς τότε, p. 386, r. 3. p. 282, note a. John 8, 35. 36.

see introduction p. 306.

CHAP. XXII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SIXTHLY, THE CONTEXT OF PROVERBS viii. 22. viz. 22—30.

It is right to interpret this passage by the *Regula Fidei.* "Founded" is used in contrast to superstructure; and it implies, as in the case of stones in building, previous existence. "Before the world" signifies the divine intention and purpose. Recurrence to Prov. viii. 22. and application of it to created Wisdom as seen in the works. The Son reveals the Father, first by the works, then by the incarnation.

1. BUT since the heretics, reading the following verse[1], take a perverse view of it as well as the preceding, because it is written, *He founded Me before the world,* namely, that this is said of the Godhead of the Word and not of His incarnate Presence[2], it is necessary, explaining this verse also, to shew their error.

[1] στίχον

Prov. 8, 23.

[2] ἐνανθρωπήσεως παρουσία p. 252, note g. § 73.

2. It is written, *The Lord in Wisdom hath founded the earth;* if then by Wisdom the earth is founded, how can He who founds be founded? nay, this too is said after the manner of proverbs[3], and we must in like manner investigate its sense; that we may know that, while by Wisdom the Father frames and founds the earth to be firm and stedfast[4], Wisdom Itself is founded for us, that It may become beginning and foundation of our new creation and renewal. Accordingly here as before, He says not, "Before the world He hath made Me Word or Son," lest there should be as if a beginning of His making. For this we must seek before all things, whether He is Son[5], and on this point specially search the Scriptures[6]; for this it was, when the Apostles were questioned,

Prov. 3, 19.

[3] p. 342, note b.

[4] διαμένειν, p. 380, r. l.

[5] p. 342, r. l.

[6] Serap. ii. 7, 8.

[a] vid. supr. p. 57, note l. p. 60, note c. vid. also Serap. i. 32 init. iv, fin. contr. Apoll. i. 6, 8, 9, 11, 22. ii. 8, 9, 13, 14, 17—19. "The doctrine of the Church should be proved, not announced, (ἐνδεικτικῶς οὐκ ἀποφαντικῶς;) therefore shew that Scripture thus teaches." Theod. Eran. p. 199. "We have borne the rule of doctrines (κανόνα) out of divine Scripture." ibid. p. 213. "Do not believe me, let Scripture be recited. I do not say of myself 'In the beginning was the Word,' but I hear it; I do not invent, but I read;

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that Peter answered, saying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.* This also the father[1] of the Arian heresy asked one of his first questions; *If Thou be the Son of God;* for he knew that this is the truth and the sovereign principle[2] of our faith; and that, if He were Himself the Son, the tyranny of the devil would have its end; but if He were a creature, He too was one of those descended from that Adam whom he deceived, and he had no cause for anxiety. For the same reason the Jews of the day[3] were angered, because the Lord said that He was Son of God, and that God was His proper Father. For had He called Himself one of the creatures, or said, "I am a work," they had not been startled at the intelligence, nor thought such words blasphemy, knowing, as they did, that Angels too had come among their fathers; but since He called Himself Son, they perceived that such was not the note of a creature, but of Godhead and of the Father's nature[4]. The Arians then ought, even in imitation of their own father[1] the devil, to take some special pains[5] on this point; and if He had said, "He founded Me to be Word or Son," then to think as they do; but if He has not so spoken, not to invent for themselves what is not.

Mat. 16, 16. Mat. 4, 3. [1] Ep. Æg. 4. Sent. D. 3. c infr. 59 init. 67. fin. noteinfr. on iii. 8. [2] τὸ κύριον [3] οἱ τότε, p. 384, r. 1. [4] πατρικὴν, vid. supr. p. 145, note r. §. 74. [5] περιεργάζεσθαι, vid. iii. 18.

3. For He says not, "Before the world He founded Me as Word or Son," but simply, *He founded Me,* to shew again, as I have said, that not for His own sake[6] but for those who are built upon Him does He here also speak, after the way of proverbs. For this knowing, the Apostle also writes, *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is*

1 Cor. 3, 10. 11. [6] p. 366, r. 2.

what we all read, but not all understand." Ambros. de Incarn. 14. Non recipio quod extra Scripturam de tuo infers. Tertull. Carn. Christ. 7. vid. also 6. "You departed from inspired Scripture and therefore didst fall from grace." Max. dial. v. 29. Heretics in particular professed to be guided by Scripture. Tertull. Præscr. 8. For Gnostics vid. Tertullian's grave sarcasm. "Utantur hæretici omnes scripturis ejus, cujus utuntur etiam mundo." Carn. Christ. 6. For Arians, vid. supr. p. 178, note c. And so Marcellus, "We consider it unsafe to lay down doctrine concerning things which we have not learned with exactness from the divine Scriptures." (leg. περὶ ὧν.. παρὰ τῶν.) Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 177, d. And Macedonians, vid. Leont. de Sect. iv. init. And Monophysites, "I have not learned this from Scripture; and I have a great fear of saying what it is silent about." Theod. Eran. p. 215. S. Hilary brings a number of these instances together with their respective texts, Marcellus, Photinus, Sabellius, Montanus, Manes; then he continues, "Omnes Scripturas sine Scripturæ sensu loquuntur, et fidem sine fide prætendunt. Scriptura enim non in legendo sunt, sed in intelligendo, neque in prævaricatione sunt sed in caritate." ad Const. ii. 9. vid. also Hieron. c. Lucif. 27. August. Ep. 120, 13.

Jesus Christ; but let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon[1]. And it must be that the foundation should be such as the things built on it, that they may admit of being well compacted together. Being then the Word, He has not, as far as Word[2], any such as Himself, who may be compacted with Him; for He is Only-begotten; but having become man, He has the like of Him, those namely the likeness of whose flesh He has put on. Therefore according to His manhood He is founded, that we, as precious stones, may admit of building upon Him, and may become a temple of the Holy Ghost who dwelleth in us. And as He is a foundation, and we stones built upon Him, so again He is a Vine and we knit to Him as branches,—not according to the Substance of the Godhead; for this surely is impossible; but according to His manhood, for the branches must be like the vine, since we are like Him according to the flesh.

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[1] Didym. Trin. iii. 3. p. 341.

[2] ἢ λόγος ἐστίν, p. 291, note l.

4. Moreover, since the heretics have such human notions, we may suitably confute them with human resemblances contained in the very matter they urge. Thus He saith not, "He hath made Me a foundation," lest He might seem to be made and to have a beginning of being, and they might thence find a shameless occasion of irreligion; but, *He hath founded Me.* Now what is founded is founded for the sake of the stones which are raised upon it; it is not a random[3] process, but a stone is first transported from the mountain and set down in the depth of the earth. And while a stone is in the mountain, it is not yet founded; but when need demands, and it be transported, and laid in the depth of the earth, then forthwith if the stone could speak, it would say, "Now he has founded me, who has brought me hither from the mountain." Therefore the Lord also, did not when founded take a beginning of existence; for He was the Word before that; but when He put on our body, which He severed[4] and took from Mary, then He says *He hath founded Me;* as much as to say, "Me, being the Word, He hath enveloped in a body of earth." For so He is founded for our sakes, taking on Him what is ours[5], that we, as incorporated and compacted and bound together in Him through the likeness of the flesh, may attain unto a perfect man, and abide[6] immortal and incorruptible.

[3] ἀτλῶς

[4] τμηθὲν.

[5] Epict. 6. a. Leon. Ep. 28. 3.

[6] διαμεῖναι, p. 380, r. l.

Disc. II. §. 75.

5. Nor let the words *before the world* and *before He made the earth* and *before the mountains were settled* disturb any one; for they very well accord with *founded* and *created;* for here again allusion is made to the Economy according to the flesh. For though the grace which has come to us from the Saviour has lately appeared, as the Apostle says, and took place when He came among us; yet this grace had been prepared even before we came into being, nay, before the foundation of the world, and the reason why, is excellent and wonderful. It beseemed not that God should counsel concerning us afterwards, lest He should appear ignorant of our fate. The God of all[1] then, creating us by His proper Word, and knowing our destinies better than we, and foreseeing that, being made *good*, we should in the event be transgressors of the commandment, and be thrust out of paradise for disobedience, being loving and kind, prepared beforehand in His proper Word, by whom also He created us[2], the Economy of our salvation; that though by the serpent's deceit we fell from Him, we might not remain altogether dead, but having in the Word the redemption and salvation which was afore prepared for us, we might rise again and abide immortal, what time He should have been created for us *a beginning of the ways*, and He who was the *First-born of creation* should become *first-born* of the *brethren*, and again should rise *first-fruits of the dead.*

[1] ὁ τῶν ὅλων θ.

Gen. 1, 31.

[2] p. 251, note f.

6. This Paul the blessed Apostle teaches in his writings; for, as interpreting the words of the Proverbs *before the world* and *before the earth was*, he thus speaks to Timothy[3]; *Be partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel according to the power of God, who hath saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and brought to light life.* And to the Ephesians; *Blessed be God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessing in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, according as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love, having predestinated us to the adoption of children*

[3] Didym. Trin. iii. 3. p. 342.

2 Tim. 1, 8—10.

Eph. 1, 3—5.

by Jesus Christ to Himself. How then has He chosen us, before we came into existence, but that, as he says himself, in Him we were represented[1] beforehand? and how at all, before men were created, did He predestinate us unto adoption, but that the Son Himself was *founded before the world*, taking on Him that economy which was for our sake? or how, as the Apostle goes on to say, have we *an inheritance being predestinated*, but that the Lord Himself was founded *before the world*, inasmuch as He had a purpose, for our sakes, to take on Him through the flesh all that inheritance of judgment which lay against us, and we henceforth were made sons in Him? and how did we receive it *before the world was*, when we were not yet in being, but afterwards in time, but that in Christ was stored the grace which has reached us? Wherefore also in the Judgment, when every one shall receive according to his conduct, He says, *Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* How then, or in whom, was it prepared before we came to be, save in the Lord who *before the world* was founded for this purpose; that we, as built upon Him, might partake, as well-compacted stones, the life and grace which is from Him?

CHAP. XXII. §. 76. [1] pp.272, 3. notes r and s.

v. 11.

Mat.25, 34.

7. And this took place, as naturally suggests itself to the religious mind, that, as I said, we, rising after our brief death, may be capable of an eternal life, of which we had not been capable[b], men as we are, formed of earth, but that

[b] The Catholic doctrine seems to be, that Adam innocent was mortal, yet would not in fact have died; that he had no principle of eternal life within him, but was sustained continually by divine power, till such time as immortality should have been given him. vid. Incarn. 4, a. b. "If God accorded to the garments and shoes of the Israelites," says S. Augustine, "that they should not wear out during so many years, how is it strange that to man obedient His power should be accorded, that, whereas his body was animal and mortal, it was so constituted as to become aged without decay, and at such time as God willed might pass without the intervention of death from mortality to immortality? For as the flesh itself, which we now bear, is not therefore invulnerable, because it may be preserved from wounding, so Adam's was not therefore not mortal, because he was not bound to die. Such a habit even of their present animal and mortal body I suppose was granted also to them who have been translated thence without death; for Enoch and Elias too have through so long a time been preserved from the decay of age." de pecc. mer. i. 3. Adam's body, he says elsewhere, "mortale quia poterat mori, immortale quia poterat non mori;" and he goes on to say that immortality was given him "de ligno vitæ non de constitutione naturæ." Gen. ad lit. vi. 20. This doctrine came into the controversy with Baius, and Pope Pius V. condemned

Disc. II. *before the world* there had been prepared for us in Christ the hope of life and salvation. Therefore reason is there that the Word, on coming into our flesh, and being created in it as *a beginning of ways for His works*, is laid as a foundation according as the Father's will[1] was in Him before the world, as has been said, and before land was, and before the mountains were settled, and before the fountains burst forth; that, though the earth and the mountains and the shapes of visible nature pass away in the fulness of the present age, we on the contrary may not grow old after their pattern, but may be able to live after them, having the spiritual life and blessing which before these things have been prepared for us in the Word Himself according to election. For thus we shall be capable of a life not temporary, but ever afterwards abide[2] and live in Christ; since even before this our life had been founded and prepared in Christ Jesus.

[1] p. 324, note c.

[2] p. 387, r. 6.

§. 77. 8. Nor in any other way was it fitting that our life should be founded, but in the Lord who is before the ages, and through whom the ages were brought to be; that, since it was in Him, we too might be able to inherit that everlasting life. For God is good; and being good always, He willed this, as knowing that our weak nature needed the succour and salvation which is from Him. And as a wise architect, proposing to build a house, consults also about repairing it, should it at any time become dilapidated after building, and, as counselling about this, makes preparation and gives to the workmen materials for a repair; and thus the means of the repair are provided before the house; in the same way prior to us is the repair of our salvation founded in Christ, that in Him also we might be new-created. And the will and the proposal were ready *before the world;* but the work took place, when the need required, and the Saviour came among us. For the Lord Himself will stand us in place of all things in the heavens, when He receives us into everlasting life.

9. This then suffices to prove that the Word of God is not a creature, but that the doctrine of the passage is concordant with orthodoxy[3]. But since that passage, when scrutinized,

[3] p. 341, note i.

the assertion, Immortalitas primi hominis non erat gratiæ beneficium sed naturalis conditio. His decision of course is here referred to only historically.

has an orthodox sense in every point of view, it may be well to state what it is; perhaps many words may bring these senseless men to shame. Now here I must recur to what has been said before, for what I have to say relates to the same proverb and the same Wisdom. The Word has not called Himself a creature by nature, but has said in proverbs, *The Lord created Me;* and He plainly indicates a sense not spoken *plainly* but latent[1], such as we shall be able to find by taking away the veil from the proverb. For who, on hearing from the Framing Wisdom, *The Lord created Me a beginning of His ways*, does not at once question the meaning, reflecting how that creative Wisdom can be created? who on hearing the Only-begotten Son of God say, that He was created *a beginning of ways*, does not investigate the sense, wondering how the Only-begotten Son can become a Beginning of many others? for it is a dark saying[2]; but *a man of understanding*, says he, *shall understand a proverb and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their dark sayings.*

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[1] p. 343.

[2] αἴνιγμα, supr. p. 238, note e. Prov. 1, 5. 6.

10. Now the Only-begotten and very Wisdom[3] of God is Creator and Framer of all things; for *in Wisdom hast Thou made them all*, he says, and *the earth is full of Thy creation.* But that what came into being might not only be, but be good[4], it pleased God that His own Wisdom should condescend[5] to the creatures, so as to introduce an impress and semblance[6] of Its Image on all in common and on each, that what was made might be manifestly wise works and worthy of God[c]. For as of the Son of God, considered as the Word, our word is an image, so of the same Son considered as Wisdom is the wisdom which is implanted in us an image; in which wisdom we, having the power of knowledge and thought, become recipients of the All-framing Wisdom; and

§. 78. Ps. 104, 24. Sept.

[3] αὐτοσοφία. vid. infr. note on iv. 2.

[4] supr. p. 32, note q.

[5] p. 372, note q. p. 373, note s.

[6] τύπον, φαντασίαν

[c] Didymus argues in favour of interpreting the passage of created wisdom at length, Trin. iii. 3. He says that the context makes this interpretation necessary, as speaking of "the fear of God" being the "beginning" of it, of "doing it," and of "kings and rulers" reigning by means of it. Again it is said that wisdom was with the Creator who was Himself the Son and Word. "The Son and Word, the Framer of all, who was all-knowing and powerful from the beginning, long suffering and waiting for repentance in the unrighteous and wrong-thinking multitude, when He had finished all, delighted in wisdom which was in the creatures and was glad in it, rejoicing in His own work." p. 336. He contrasts with this the more solemn style used by the sacred writer when he speaks of the Uncreated Wisdom; ὑπερφυῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκπλήξεως ἐκμυέζων ἀναφθέγγεται, e. g. Prov. 30, 3.

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vid. 1 John 2, 23. Mat. 10, 40.

Mat. 10, 40.

Rom. 1, 19. 20.

[1] p. 345, note g.

[d] As Athan. here considers wisdom as the image of the Creator in the Universe, so elsewhere he explains it of the Church, de Incarn. contr. Ar. 6. if it be his; (and so Didym. Trin. iii. 3 fin.) but the interpretation is very much the same as his own, supr. 56. S. Jerome applies it to the creation of the new man in holiness, "'Put ye on Christ Jesus;' for He is the new man, in whom all we believers ought to be clad and attired. For what was not new in the man which was taken on Him by our Saviour? He rather who can imitate His conversation and bring out in himself all virtues, he has put on the new man, and can say with the Apostle, 'Not I, but Christ liveth in me.' In great deeds and works the word 'creation' is used. The new man is the great work of God, and excels all other creatures, since he is said to be framed, as the world is said, and is created the beginning of God's ways, and in the commencement of all the elements." in Eph. iv. 23, 24. Naz. alludes to the interpretation of Wisdom being the plan, system, or laws of the Universe. Orat. 30, 2. though he does not so explain it himself. Epiphanius says, "Scripture has no where confirmed this passage, (Prov. 8, 22.) nor has any Apostle referred it to Christ." (vid. also Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 20.) He adds, "How many wisdoms of God are there, improperly so called! but One Wisdom is the Only-begotten, not improperly so called, but in truth....The very word 'wisdom' does not oblige me to speak of the Son of God." Hær. 69. pp. 743—745. He proceeds to shew how it may apply to Him.

11. But if this too fails to persuade them, let them tell us themselves, whether there is any wisdom in the creatures or not[1]? If not, how is it that the Apostle complains, *For after that in the Wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God?* or how is it if there is no wisdom, that a *multitude of wise men* are found in Scripture? for *a wise man feareth and departeth from evil;* and *through wisdom is a house builded;* and the Preacher says, *A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine;* and he blames those who are headstrong thus, *Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.* But if, as the Son of Sirach says, *He poured her out upon all His works; she is with all flesh according to His gift, and He hath given her to them that love Him,* and this outpouring is a note, not of the Substance of the Very[2] Wisdom and Only-begotten, but of that wisdom which is imaged in the world, how is it incredible that the All-framing and true Wisdom Itself, whose impress is the wisdom and knowledge poured out in the world, should say, as I have already explained, as if of Itself, *The Lord hath created Me for His works?*

CHAP. XXII. §. 79.

[1] vid. Epiph. Hær. 69. p. 744.

1 Cor. 1, 21. vid. Wisd. 6, 26. Prov. 14, 16. Prov. 24, 3. Eccles. 8, 1; 7, 10. Ecclus. 1, 9. 10.

[2] *αὐτοῦ φύσις*, vid. p. 291, r. 3. note on Orat. iv. 2.

12. For the wisdom in the world is not creative, but is that which is created in the works, according to which *the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handywork.* This if men have within them[e], they will acknowledge the true Wisdom of God; and will know that they are made really[3] after God's Image. And, as some son of a king, when the father wished to build a city[f], might cause his own

Ps. 19, 1.

[3] *ὄντως*. vid. p. 56, note k.

[e] Athan. speaks, contr. Gent. of man "having the grace of the Giver, and his own virtue from the Father's Word;" of the mind "seeing the Word, and in Him the Word's Father also," 2; of "the way to God being, not as God Himself, above us and far off, or external to us, but in us," 30, &c. &c. vid. also Basil. de Sp. S. n. 19. "Rational creatures, receiving light, enlighten by imparting principles which are poured from their own mind into another intellect; and such an illumination may be justly called teaching rather than revelation. But the Word of God enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, not in the way of a teacher, as for instance Angels do or men, but rather as God in the way of a Framer doth He sow in each whom He calls into being the seed of Wisdom, that is of divine knowledge, and implant a root of understanding," &c. Cyril. in Joan. p. 75. Athan. speaks of this seed somewhat differently elsewhere as a natural instinct in the world in contrast to the Word by whom it is imparted. He calls it "a reason combined and connatural with every thing that came into being, which some are wont to call seminal, inanimate indeed and unreasoning and unintelligent, but operating only by external art according to the science of Him who sowed it." contr. Gent. 40.

[f] This is drawn out somewhat differently, and very strikingly in contr.

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name to be printed upon each of the works that were rising, both to give security to them of the works remaining, by reason of the show[1] of his name on every thing, and also to make them remember him and his father from the name, and having finished the city might be asked concerning it, how it was made, and then would answer, "It is made securely, for according to the will of my father, I am imaged in every work, for there is a creation of my name in the works;" but saying this, he does not signify that his own substance is created, but the impress[2] of himself by means of his name; in the same manner, to apply the illustration, to those who admire the wisdom in the creatures, the true Wisdom makes answer, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, for My impress is in them; and I have thus condescended[3] for the framing of all things.

[1] φαντασίαν

[2] τύπος

[3] συγκατίβην

§. 80. 13. Moreover, that the Son should be speaking of the impress that is within us as if it were Himself, should not startle any one, considering (for we must not care about repetition[5]) that, when Saul was persecuting the Church, in which was His impress and image, He said, as if He were Himself under persecution, *Saul, why persecutest thou Me?* Therefore, (as has been said,) as, supposing the impress itself of Wisdom which is in the works had said, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, no one would have been startled, so, if He, the True and Framing Wisdom, the Only-begotten Word of God, should use what belongs to His image as about Himself, namely, *The Lord hath created Me for the works*, let no one, overlooking the wisdom created in the world and in the works, think that *He created* is said of the Substance of the Very[4] Wisdom, lest, diluting the wine with water, he be judged a defrauder of the truth. For It is Creator and Framer; but Its impress is created in the works, as the copy of an image.

Acts 9, 4.

[4] αὐτοσοφίας, p. 393, r. 1. infr. iii. 35. Ep. Æg. §. 17. Ambros. de Fid. iii. 65.

Gent. 43. The Word indeed is regarded more as the Governor than the Life of the world, but He is said, §. 43, ὁ παραδοξοποιὸς καὶ θαυματοποιὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος φωτίζων καὶ ζωοποιῶν.... ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν ἀποδιδούς, &c. 44. Shortly before he spoke of the Word as the Principle of permanence. 41 fin.

[5] τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ λέγειν οὐκ ἀνυπόπτον: where Petavius, de Trin. ii. 1. §. 8. ingeniously but without any authority reads οὐκ ἀνυπὸ θεὸν; and most gratuitously too, for it is quite a peculiarity of Athan. to repeat and to apologize for doing so. The very same words occur supr. 22, c. Orat. iii. 54, a. Seran. i. 21 e b. 27, e. Vid. also 2, c. 41, d. f apply to iii. 39 init. vid. especially I

14. And He says, *Beginning of ways*, since such wisdom becomes a sort of beginning, and, as it were, rudiments[1] of the knowledge of God; for a man entering, as it were, upon this way first, and keeping it in the fear of God, (as Solomon says, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*,) then advancing upwards in his thoughts and perceiving the Framing Wisdom which is in the creation, will perceive in It also Its Father[h], as the Lord Himself has said, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and as John writes, *He who acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.* And He says, *Before the world hath He founded Me*, since in Its impress the works remain settled[2] and eternal. Then, lest any, hearing concerning the wisdom thus created in the works, should think the true Wisdom, God's Son, to be by nature a creature, He has found it necessary to add, *Before the mountains, and before the earth, and before the waters, and before all hills He begets Me*, that in saying, "before all creation," (for He includes all the creation under these heads,) He may shew that He is not created together with the works according to Substance. For if He was created *for the works*, yet is before them, it follows that He is in being before He was created. He is not then a creature by nature and substance, but as He Himself has added, an Offspring. But in what differs a creature from an offspring, and how it is distinct by nature, has been shewn in what has gone before.

CHAP. XXII.

[1] στοιχείωσις

Prov. 1, 7. Sept.

John 14, 9. 1 John 2, 23. and so Cyril in Joan. p. 864. vid. Wetstein in loc.

[2] ἰδρυμα vid.

Prov. 8, 24—26.

15. But since He proceeds to say, *When He prepared the heaven, I was present with Him*, we ought to know that He says not this as if without Wisdom the Father prepared the heaven or the clouds above, (for there is no room to doubt that all things are created in Wisdom, and without It was made not even one thing;) but this is what He says, "All things took place in Me and through Me, and when there was need that Wisdom should be created in the works,

§. 81.

Prov. 8, 27.

[h] The whole of this passage might be illustrated at great length from the contr. Gent. and the Incarn. V. D. vid. supr. notes on 79. "The soul as in a mirror contemplates the Word the Image of the Father, and in Him contemplates the Father, whose Image the [illegible] is...or if not...yet from the [illegible] the world, [illegible] as for instance [illegible] that are seen, the creation as by letters signifying and heralding its Lord and Maker by means of its order and harmony." Gent. 34. "As by looking up to the heaven....we have an idea of the Word who set it in order, so considering the Word of God, we cannot but see God His Father." 45. And Incarn. 11, 41, 42, &c. Vid. also Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 16.

Disc II. in My Substance indeed I was with the Father, but by a condescension[1] to things generate, I was disposing over the works My own impress, so that the whole world as being in one body, might not be at variance but in concord with itself." All those then who with an upright understanding, according to the wisdom given unto them, come to contemplate the creatures, are able to say for themselves, "By Thy appointment all things continue;" but they who make light of this, must be told, *Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools;* for *that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God has revealed it unto them; for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse. Because that when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, but served the creature more than the Creator of all, who is blessed for ever. Amen.*

vid. Ps. 119, 91.

Rom. 1, 19—25.

16. And they will feel some compunction surely at the words, *For, after that in the wisdom of God,* (in the mode we have explained above,) *the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* For no longer, as in the former times, God has willed to be known by an image and shadow of wisdom, that namely which is in the creatures, but He has made the true Wisdom Itself to take flesh, and to become man, and to undergo the death of the cross; that by the faith in Him, henceforth all that believe may obtain salvation. However, it is the same Wisdom of God, which through Its own Image in the creatures, (whence also It is said to be created,) first manifested Itself, and through Itself Its own Father; and afterwards, being Itself the Word, It *became flesh,* as John says, and after abolishing death and saving our race, still more revealed Himself and through Him His own Father, saying, *Grant unto them that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*

1 Cor. 1, 21.

John 1, 14.

vid. John 17, 3.

§. 82. 17. Hence the whole earth is filled with the knowledge of Him; for the knowledge of Father through Son and of Son

[1] Here again, as in former passages, the συγκατάβασις has no reference whatever to a figurative γέννησις, as Bishop Bull contends, but to His impressing the image of Wisdom on the works, or what He above calls the Son's image, on which account He is πρωτότυπος. Orat. 2. 39, b. ad Serm. 20, d.

from Father is one and the same, and the Father delights in Him, and in the same joy the Son rejoices in the Father, saying, *I was by Him, daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him.* And this again proves that the Son is not foreign, but proper to the Father's Substance. For behold, not because of us has He come to be, as the irreligious men say, nor is He out of nothing, (for not from without did God procure for Himself a cause of rejoicing[1],) but the words denote what is proper and like. When then was it, when the Father rejoiced not? but if He ever rejoiced, He was ever, in whom He rejoiced. And in whom does the Father rejoice, except as seeing Himself in His proper Image, which is His Word? And though in sons of men also He had delight, on finishing the world, as it is written in these same Proverbs, yet this too has a consistent sense. For even thus He had delight, not as if joy came upon Him, but again as seeing the works made after His own Image; so that even this rejoicing of God is on account of His Image. And how too has the Son delight, except as seeing Himself in the Father? for this is the same as saying, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and *I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*

CHAP. XXII.

Prov. 8, 30.

[1] χαρᾶς ποιητικὸν

vid. Prov. 8, 31.

John 14, 9. 10.

18. Vain then is your vaunt as is on all sides shewn, O Christ's enemies, and vainly do ye preach[k] and circulate every where your text, *The Lord hath created Me a beginning of His ways*, perverting its sense, and publishing, not Solomon's meaning, but your own comment[2]. For behold your sense is proved to be but a fantasy; but the passage in the Proverbs, as well as all that is above said, proves that the Son is not a creature in nature and substance, but the proper Offspring of the Father, true Wisdom and Word, by whom *all things were made*, and *without Him was made not one thing.*

[2] διάνοιαν, ἐπίνοιαν, *supr.* p. 255, note n.

John 1, 3.

[k] ἐπεσκωπτήσατε. "The ancients said σκωπτεῖν 'to use bad language,' and the coarse language of the procession, σκωπτεία. This arose from the custom of persons in the Bacchanalian cars using bad language towards by-standers, and their retorting it." Erasm. Adag. p. 1158. He quotes Menander,

ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν εἰσὶ σκωπτῖαι τινὲς σφόδρα λοίδορον.

[illegible] hings that

DISCOURSE III.

CHAP. XXIII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; SEVENTHLY, JOHN xiv. 10.

Introduction. The doctrine of the coinherence. The Father and the Son Each whole and perfect God. They are in Each Other, because their Substance is One and the Same. They are Each Perfect and have One Substance, because the Second Person is the Son of the First. Asterius's evasive explanation of the text under review; refuted. Since the Son has all that the Father has, He is His Image; and the Father is the One God, because the Son is in the Father.

§. 1. 1. THE Ario-maniacs, as it appears, having once made up their minds to transgress and revolt from the Truth, are strenuous in appropriating the words of Scripture, *When the impious cometh into a depth of evil, he contemneth;* for refutation does not stop them, nor perplexity abash them; but, as having *a whore's forehead*, they *refuse to be ashamed* before all men in their irreligion. For whereas the passages which they alleged, *The Lord created Me*[1], and *Made better than the Angels*[2], and *First-born*[3], and *Faithful to Him that made Him*[4], have an orthodox meaning[5], and inculcate religiousness towards Christ, so it is that these men still, as if bedewed with the serpent's poison, not seeing what they ought to see, nor understanding what they read, as if in vomit[6] from the depth of their irreligious heart, have next proceeded to disparage our Lord's words, *I in the Father and the Father in Me;* saying, "How can the One be contained in the Other and the Other in the One?" or "How at all can the Father who is the greater be contained in the Son who is the less?" or "What wonder the Son is in the Father, considering it is written even

Prov. 18, 3. Sept.

Jer. 3, 3.

[1] supr. ch. xix.
[2] ch. xiii.
[3] ch. xxi.
[4] ch. xiv.
[5] p. 341, note i.
[6] ἐμεσμένοις

John 14, 10.

In Him we live and move and have our being[a]*?*" And this state of mind is consistent with their perverseness[1], who think God to be material[2], and understand not what is "True Father" and "True Son," nor "Light Invisible" and "Eternal," and Its "Radiance Invisible," nor "Invisible Subsistence[3]," and "Immaterial Expression" and "Immaterial Image." For had they known, they would not have dishonoured and ridiculed the Lord of glory, nor interpreting things immaterial after a material manner, perverted good words. CHAP. XXIII. Acts 17, 28. [1] κακονοίᾳ [2] σῶμα [3] ὑπόστα-σις

2. It were sufficient indeed, on hearing only words which are the Lord's, at once to believe, since the faith of simplicity is better than an elaborate[4] process of persuasion; but since they have endeavoured to make even this passage level with their own heresy, it becomes necessary to expose their perverseness[1] and to shew the mind of the truth, at least for the security of the faithful. For when it is said, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, They are not therefore, as these suppose, discharged into Each Other, filling the One the Other, as in the case of empty vessels, so that the Son fills the emptiness of the Father and the Father that of the Son[b], [4] ἐν περι-εργίαις

[a] vid. supr. p. 338, note d. The doctrine of the περιχώρησις, which this objection introduces, is the test of orthodoxy opposed to Arianism. vid. p. 95, note d. This is seen clearly in the case of Eusebius, whose language approaches to Catholic more nearly than Arians in general. After all his strong assertions, the question recurs, is our Lord a distinct being from God, as we are, or not? he answers in the affirmative, vid. supr. p. 63, note *g*. whereas we believe that He is literally and numerically one with the Father, and therefore His Person dwells in the Father's Person by an ineffable union. And hence the strong language of Pope Dionysius, supr. p. 46. "the Holy Ghost must repose and habitate in God," ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι. And hence the strong figure of S. Jerome, (in which he is followed by S. Cyril, Thesaur. p. 51.) "Filius locus est Patris, sicut et Pater locus est Filii." in Ezek. 3, 12. Hence Athan. contrasts the creatures who are ἐν μεμερισμένοις τόποις and the Son. Serap. iii. 4. Accordingly, one of the first [illegible]ms of reviving orthodoxy in the [illegible]chool of semi-Arians (as they have above been called in notes to de Syn.) in the Macrostich Creed, is the use of language of this character, viz. "All the Father embosoming the Son," they say, "and all the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually." supr. p. 116, where vid. note h.

[b] This might seem, but is not, inconsistent with S. Jerome as quoted in the foregoing note. Athan. does but mean that such illustrations cannot be taken literally, as if spoken of natural subjects. The Father is the τόπος or locus of the Son, because when we contemplate the Son in His fulness as ὅλος θεός, we do but view the Father as that Person in whom God the Son is; our mind abstracts His Substance which is the Son for the moment from Him, and regards Him merely as Father. Thus Athan. τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν τοῦ λόγου ἠνωμένον φύσει τῷ ἰδιικῷ πατρί. In Illud. Omn. 4. It is, however, but an operation of the mind, and not a real emptying of Godhead from the Father, if such words may be used. Father and Son are both the same God, though really and eternally distinct from each other; and Each

DISC. III. and Each of Them by Himself is not complete and perfect, (for this is proper to bodies, and therefore the mere assertion of it is full of irreligion,) for the Father is full and perfect, and the Son is the Fulness of Godhead. Nor again, as God, [1] γινόμενος ἐν by coming[1] into the Saints, strengthens them, thus is He also in the Son. For He is Himself the Father's Power and [2] μετοχῇ Wisdom, and by partaking[2] of Him things generate are sanctified in the Spirit; but the Son Himself is not Son by [3] μετουσίᾳ participation[3], but is the Father's proper Offspring[c]. Nor again is the Son in the Father, in the sense of the passage, *In Him we live and move and have our being;* for, He as [4] ἐκ πηγῆς, p. 25, note e. being from the Fount[4] of the Father is the Life, in which all things are both quickened[5] and consist; for the Life does not live in life[d], else it would not be Life, but rather He gives [5] ζωογονεῖται life[6] to all things.

[6] ζωογονεῖ §. 2. 3. But now let us see what Asterius the Sophist says, the

is full of the Other, that is, their Substance is one and the same. This is insisted on by S. Cyril, "We must not conceive that the Father is held in the Son as body in body, or vessel in vessel; ....for the One is in the Other. ὡς ἐν ταὐτότητι τῆς οὐσίας ἀπαραλλάκτῳ, καὶ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἑνότητί τε καὶ ὁμοιότητι. in Joan. p. 28. And by S. Hilary; "Material natures do not admit of being mutually in each other, of having a perfect unity of a nature which subsists, of the abiding nativity of the Only-begotten being inseparable from the unity of the Father's Godhead. To God the Only-begotten alone is this proper, and this faith attaches to the mystery of a true nativity, and this is the work of a spiritual power, that to be and to be in differ nothing; to be in, yet not to be one in another as body in body, but so to be and to subsist, as to be in the subsisting, and so to be in, as also to subsist," &c. Trin. vii. fin. vid. also iii. 23. The following quotation from S. Anselm is made by Petavius, de Trin. iv. 16 fin. and may be given here, though he cannot be here used as an authority; "Though there be not many eternities, yet if we say eternity in eternity, there is but one eternity. And so whatever is said of God's Essence, if repeated in itself, does not increase quantity, nor admit number. Since there is nothing out of God, when God is born of God. He will not be born out of God, but remains in God."

[c] vid. supr. p. 15, note e. p. 32, note q. fin. p. 203, and note d. On the other hand Eusebius considers the Son, like a creature, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πατρικῆς [not οὐσίας, but] μετουσίας, ὥστε ἀπὸ πηγῆς, ἵν' αὐτὸν προχεομένης πληρούμενον. Eccl. Theol. i. 2. words which are the more observable, the nearer they approach to the language of Athan. in the text and elsewhere. Vid. infr. by way of contrast, οὐδὲ κατὰ μετουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ γέννημα. 4.

[d] i. e. Son does not live by the *gift* of life, for He *is* life, and does but give it, not receive. S. Hilary uses different language with the same meaning, "Vita viventis [Filii] in vivo [Patre] est." de Trin. ii. 11. Other modes of expression for the same mystery are found infr. "the whole being of the Son is proper to the Father's substance;" 3. "the Son's being, because from the Father, is therefore in the Father;" ibid. also 6 fin. "the Father's Godhead is the being of the Son." 5. Vid. supr. p. 145, note r. and Didymus ἡ πατρικὴ θεότης. p. 82. and S. Basil, ἐξ οὗ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι. contr. Eunom. ii. 12 fin. Just above Athan. says that "the Son is the fulness of the Godhead." Thus the Father is the Son's life because the Son is from Him, and the Son the Father's because the Son is in Him. All these are but different ways of signifying the περιχώρησις.

retained pleader[1] for the heresy. In imitation then of the Jews so far, he writes as follows; "It is very plain that He has said, that He is in the Father and the Father again in Him, for this reason, that neither the word, on which He was discoursing is, as He says, His own, but the Father's, nor the works belong[2] to Him, but to the Father who gave Him the power." Now this, if uttered at random by a little child, had been excused from his age; but when one who bears the title of Sophist, and professes universal knowledge[e], is the writer, what a serious condemnation does he deserve? And does he not shew himself a stranger to the Apostle[3], as being puffed up with persuasive words of wisdom, and thinking thereby to succeed in deceiving, not understanding himself what he saith nor whereof he affirms? For what the Son has said as proper and suitable to a Son only, who is Word and Wisdom and Image of the Father's Substance, that he levels to all the creatures, and makes common to the Son and to them; and he says, lawless[f] man, that the Power of the Father receives power, that from this his irreligion it may follow to say that in a Son[4] the Son was made a son, and the Word received a Word's authority; and, far from granting that He spoke this as a Son, he ranks Him with all things made as having learned it as they have. For if the Son said, *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, because His discourses were not His own words but the Father's, and so of His works, then, since David says, *I will hear what the Lord God shall say in Me*, and again Solomon, *My words are spoken by God*, and since Moses was minister of words which were from God, and each of the Prophets spoke not what was his own but what was from God, *Thus saith the Lord*, and since the works of the Saints, as they professed, were not their own but God's who gave the power, Elias for instance and Eliseus invoking God that He Himself would raise the dead, and Eliseus saying to Naaman, on cleansing him from the leprosy,

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[1] *συναγόρου*, infr. §. 60.

[2] *ἰδιᾶται*

[3] p. 131, note d. vid. 1 Tim. 1, 7.

[4] *ἐν υἱῷ*, but *ἐν τῷ υἱῷ*. Ep. Æg. 14 fin. vid. p. 311, note k.

Ps. 83, 9. Sept.

[e] *πάντα γινώσκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος*. Gorgias according to Cicero de fin. ii. init. was the first who ventured in public to say *προβάλλετε*, "give me a question." This was the *ἐπάγγελμα* of the Sophists; of which Aristotle speaks, ascribing to Protagoras the "profession" of being able to "make the worse cause the better." Rhet. ii. 24 fin. Vid. Cressol. Theatr. Rhet. iii. 11.

[f] *παράνομος*. infr. 47, c. Hist. Ar. 71, 75, 79. Ep. Æg. 16, d. Vid. *ἄνομος*. 2 Thess. 2, 8.

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that thou mayest know that there is a God in Israel, and Samuel too in the days of the harvest praying to God to grant rain, and the Apostles saying that not in their own power they did miracles but in the Lord's grace, it is plain that, according to Asterius, such a statement must be common to all, so that each of them is able to say, *I in the Father and the Father in Me;* and as a consequence that He is no longer one Son of God and Word and Wisdom, but, as others, is only one out of many.

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4. But if the Lord said this, His words would not rightly have been, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, but rather, "I too am in the Father and the Father is in Me too," that He may have nothing proper and by prerogative[1], relatively to the Father, as a Son, but the same grace in common with all. But it is not so, as they think; for not understanding that He is genuine[2] Son from the Father, they bely Him who is such, whom only it befits to say, *I in the Father and the Father in Me.* For the Son is in the Father, as it is allowed us to know, because the whole Being of the Son is proper to the Father's substance[3], as radiance from light, and stream from fountain; so that whoso sees the Son, sees what is proper to the Father, and knows that the Son's Being, because from the Father, is therefore in the Father. For the Father is in the Son, since the Son is what is from the Father and proper to Him, as in the radiance the sun, and in the word

[1] ἰδιάζοντος, p. 308, note f.

[2] γνήσιον

[3] Since the Father and the Son are the numerically One God, it is but expressing this in other words to say that the Father is in the Son and the Son in that Father, for all They have and all They are is common to Each, excepting Their being Father and Son. A περιχώρησις of Persons is implied in the Unity of Substance. This is the connexion of the two texts so often quoted; "the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son," because "the Son and the Father are one." And the cause of this unity and περιχώρησις is the Divine γέννησις. Thus S. Hilary: "The perfect Son of a perfect Father, and of the Ingenerate God the Only-begotten Offspring, who from Him who hath all hath received all, God from God, Spirit from Spirit, Light from Light, says confidently, 'The Father in Me and I in the Father,' for as the Father is Spirit so is the Son, as the Father God so is the Son, as the Father Light so is the Son. From those things therefore which are in the Father, are those in which is the Son; that is, of the whole Father is born the whole Son; not from other, &c....not in part, for in the Son is the fulness of Godhead. What is in the Father, that too is in the Son; One from the Other and Both One (unum); not Two One Person (unus," vid. however, the language of the Athan. Creed, which expresses itself differently after S. Austin) but Either in Other, because not other in Either. The Father in the Son, because from Him the Son....the Only-begotten in the Ingenerate, because from the Ingenerate the Only-begotten, &c. Trin. ii. 4. vid. supr. p. 326, note g.

the thought, and in the stream the fountain: for whoso thus contemplates the Son, contemplates what is proper to the Father's Substance, and knows that the Father is in the Son. For whereas the Face[h] and Godhead of the Father is the Being of the Son, it follows that the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son[i]. CHAP. XXIII.

5. On this account and reasonably, having said before, *I and the Father are One*, He added, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, by way of shewing the identity[1] of Godhead and the unity of Substance. For they are one, not[2] as one thing divided into two parts, and these nothing but one, nor as one thing twice named, so that the Same becomes at one time Father, at another His own Son, for this Sabellius holding was judged an heretic. But They are two, because the Father is Father and is not also Son, and the Son is Son and not also Father[3]; but the nature is one; (for the offspring is not unlike[k] its parent, for it is his image,) and all that is the Father's, is the Son's[l]. Wherefore neither is John 10, 30. ταυτότητι, p. 145, note r. §. 4. infr. Orat. iv. 9. infr. 11.

[h] *εἶδος*, face or form. Petavius here prefers the reading *θεῖον*; *θεότης* and *τὸ θεῖον* occur together infr. 6. and 56. *εἶδος* occurs Orat. i. 20, a. de Syn. 52. vid. supr. p. 154, note e. infr. 6. 16. Ep. Æg. 17, c. contr. Sabell. Greg. 8, c. 12, b. d. vid. infr. p. 406, note p, p. 424, note o.

[i] In accordance with note b. supr. Thomassin observes that by the mutual coinherence or indwelling of the Three Blessed Persons is meant "not a commingling as of material liquids, nor as of soul with body, nor as the union of our Lord's Godhead and humanity, but it is such that the whole power, life, substance, wisdom, essence, of the Father, should be the very essence, substance, wisdom, life, and power of the Son." de Trin. 28. 1. S. Cyril adopts Athan.'s language to express this doctrine. "The Son in one place says, that He is in the Father and has the Father again in Him; for the very peculiarity (*ἴδιον*) of the Father's substance, by nature coming to the Son, shews the Father in Him." in Joan. p. 105. "One is contemplated in the other, and is truly, according to the connatural and consubstantial." de Trin. vi. p. 621. "He has in Him the Son and is again in the Son, because of the identity of substance." in Joann. p. 168. Vid. infra *ταυτότητος οὐσίας*, 21. *παρεμπὴ θεότητος τοῦ υἱοῦ*, 26. and 41. and supr. p. 145, note r. vid. also Damasc. F. O. i. 8. pp. 139, 140.

[k] *ἀνόμοιον*; and so *ἀνόμοιος κατὰ πάντα*. Orat. i. 6. *κατ' οὐσίαν*. 17. Orat. ii. 43. *τῆς οὐσίας*. infr. 14. vid. *ἀνομοιότης*. infr. 8, c.

[l] "We must conceive of necessity that in the Father is the eternal, the everlasting, the immortal; and in Him, not as foreign to Him, but as abiding (*ἀναπαυόμενα*) in Him as in a Fount and in the Son. When then you would form a conception of the Son, learn what are the things in the Father, and believe that they are in the Son too. If the Father is creature or work, these attributes are also in the Son, &c.....He who honours the Son, is honouring the Father who sent Him, and he who receives the Son, is receiving with Him the Father, &c." In illud Omn. 4. "As the Father is I Am (*ὁ ὤν*) so His Word is I Am and God over all." Serap. i. 28, a. "Altogether, there is nothing which the Father has, which is not the Son's; for therefore it is that the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son; because the things of the Father, these are in the Son, and still the same are understood as in the Father. Thus is understood, 'I and the Father are One;' since not these things are in Him

All inserts marked on pp. 404–407 with note "1" have "0" on pp. 405, 406 quotes on inside of the envelopes images this Aug. 5, 1905.

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the Son another God, for He was not procured[1] from without, else were there many, if a godhead be procured foreign from the Father's[2]; for if the Son be other, as an Offspring, still He is the Same as God; and He and the Father are one in propriety and peculiarity[3] of nature, and the identity[4] of the one Godhead, as has been said. For the radiance also is light, not second to the sun, nor a different light, nor from participation[5] of it, but a whole and proper offspring of it. And such an offspring is necessarily one light; and no one would say that they are two lights[6], but sun and radiance two, yet one the light from the sun enlightening in its radiance all things. So also the Godhead of the Son is the Father's; whence also it is indivisible; and thus there is one God and none other but He. And so, since they are one, and the Godhead itself one, the same things are said of the Son, which are said of the Father, except His being said to be Father[7]:—for instance[8], that He is God, *And the Word was God;* Almighty, *Thus saith He which was and is and is to come, the Almighty;* Lord, *One Lord Jesus Christ;* that He is Light, *I am the Light;* that He forgives sins, *that ye may know,* He says, *that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins;* and so with other attributes. For *all things,* says the Son Himself, *whatsoever the Father hath, are Mine;* and again, *And Mine are Thine.* And on hearing the attributes[9] of the Father spoken of Son, we shall thereby see the Father in the Son; and we shall contemplate the Son in the Father, when what is said of the Son, is said of the Father also. And why are the attributes of the Father ascribed to the Son, except that the Son is an Offspring from Him? and why are the Son's attributes proper to the Father, except again because the Son is the proper Offspring of His Substance? And the Son, being the proper Offspring of the Father's Substance, reasonably says that the Father's attributes are His own also; whence suitably and consistently with saying, *I and the Father are One,* He adds, *that ye may know that I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*

[1] ἰδιοποίητη

[2] p. 186, §. 6.

[3] οἰκειότητα

[4] p. 403, r. 1.

[5] μετουσίαν

[6] doctrine of the Una Res, p. 145, note r.

[7] p. 149, note x.

[8] parallel to de Syn. 49. p. 149, supr. John 1, 1. Rev. 1, 8. 1 Cor. 8, 6. John 8, 12. Luke 5, 24. John 16, 15. 17, 10.

[9] τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς

John 10, 30, 38. 14, 10.

and those in the Son, but the things which are in the Father those are in the Son, and what thou seest in the Father, because thou seest in the Son, thereby is rightly understood 'He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father.'" Serap. ii. 2.

6. Moreover, He has added this again, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father;* and there is one and the same sense in these three[m] passages. For he who in this sense understands that the Son and the Father are one, knows that He is in the Father and the Father in the Son; for the Godhead of the Son is the Father's, and it is in the Son; and whoso enters into this, is convinced that *He that hath seen the Son, hath seen the Father;* for in the Son is contemplated the Father's Godhead. And we may perceive this at once from the illustration of the Emperor's image. For in the image is the face and form of the Emperor, and in the Emperor is that face which is in the image. For the likeness of the Emperor in the image is unvarying[l]; so that a person who looks at the image, sees in it the Emperor; and he again who sees the Emperor, recognises that it is he who is in the image[n]. And from the likeness not differing, to one who after the image wished to view the Emperor, the image might say, "I and the Emperor are one; for I am in him, and he in me; and what thou seest in me, that thou beholdest in him, and what thou hast seen in him, that thou beholdest in me[o]." Accordingly he who worships the image,

CHAP. XXIII. John 14, 9.

[l] ἀπαραλλάκτως, p. 106, note d.

[m] Here these three texts, which so often occur together, are recognised as "three;" so are they by Eusebius Eccl. Theol. iii. 19. and he says that Marcellus and "those who Sabellianize with him," among whom he included Catholics, were in the practice of adducing them, ὡς λῆρος; which bears incidental testimony to the fact that the doctrine of the περιχώρησις was the great criterion between orthodox and Arian. Many instances of the joint use of the three are given supr. p. 229, note g. to which may be added Orat. ii. 54 init. iii. 16 fin. 67 fin. iv. 17, a. Serap. ii. 9, c. Serm. Maj. de fid. 29. Cyril. de Trin. p. 554. in Joann. p. 168. Origen Periarch. p. 56. Hil. Trin. ix. 1. Ambros. Hexaem. 6. August. de Cons. Ev. i. 7.

[n] vid. Basil. Hom. contr. Sab. p. 192. The honour paid to the Imperial Statues is well known. "He who crowns the Statue of the Emperor, of course honours him, whose image he has crowned." Ambros. in Psalm 118, x. 25. vid. also Chrysost. Hom. on Statues, O. T. pp. 356, &c. fragm. in Act. Conc. vii. (t. 4, p. 89. Hard.) Chrysostom's second persecution arose from his interfering with a statue of the Empress which was so near the Church, that the acclamations of the people before it disturbed the services. Socr. vi. 18. The Seventh Council speaks of the images sent by the Emperors into provinces instead of their coming in person; Ducange in v. Lauratum. Vid. a description of the imperial statues and their honours in Gothofred, Cod. Theod. t. 5, pp. 346, 7. and in Philostorg. p. 90. vid. also Molanus de Imaginibus ed. Paquot, p. 197.

[o] Athanasius guards against what is defective in this illustration in the next chapter, but independent of such explanation a mistake as to his meaning would be impossible; and the passage affords a good instance of the imperfect and partial character of all illustrations of the Divine Mystery. What it is taken to symbolize is the unity of the Father and Son, for the Image is not a Second Emperor but the same. vid. Sabell. Greg. 6. But no one, who bowed before the Emperor's Statue can be supposed to have really worshipped it; whereas our Lord is the Object

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in it worships the Emperor also; for the image is his form[1] and face. Since then the Son too is the Father's Image, it must necessarily be understood that the Godhead and propriety of the Father is the Being of the Son.

[1] μορφή

Phil. 2, 6.

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7. And this is what is said, *Who being in the form of God,* and *the Father in Me.* Nor is this Form[2] of the Godhead partial merely, but the fulness of the Father's Godhead is the Being of the Son, and the Son is whole God. Therefore also, being equal to God, He *thought it not robbery to be equal to God;* and again since the Godhead and the Face of the Son is none other's than the Father's[p], this is what He says, *I in the Father.* Thus *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself;* for the propriety[3] of the Father's Substance is that Son, in whom the creation was then reconciled[4] with God. Thus what things the Son then wrought[5], are the Father's works, for the Son is the Face of that Godhead of the Father, which wrought the works. And thus he who looks at the Son, sees the Father; for in the Father's Godhead is and is contemplated the Son; and the Father's Face which is in Him shews in Him the Father; and thus the Father is in the Son. And that propriety and Godhead which is from the Father in the Son, shews the Son in the Father, and His inseparability[6] from Him; and whoso hears and beholds that what is said of the Father is also said of the Son, not as accruing[7] to His Substance by grace or participation[8], but because the very Being of the Son is the proper Offspring of the Father's Substance, will fitly understand the words, as I said before, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me;* and *I and the Father are One.* For the Son is such as the Father is, because He has all that is the Father's.

[2] εἶδος, vid. infr. 16, note.

2 Cor. 5, 19.

[3] τὸ ἴδιον

[4] καταλλάσσει.

[5] εἰργάζετο

[6] ἀδιαίρετον

[7] ἐπιγινόμενα

[8] μετοχῇ

John 14, 10; 10, 30.

of supreme worship, which terminates in Him, as being really one with Him whose Image He is. From the custom of paying honour to the Imperial Statues, the Cultus Imaginum was introduced into the Eastern Church. The Western Church, not having had the civil custom, resisted. vid. Dollinger, Church History, vol. 3. p. 55. E. Tr. The Fathers, e. g. S. Jerome, set themselves against the civil custom, as idolatrous, comparing it to that paid to Nebuchadnezzar's statue. vid. Hieron. in Dan. 3, 18. Incense was burnt before those of the Emperors; as afterwards before the Images of the Saints.

[p] Here first the Son's εἶδος is the εἶδος of the Father, then the Son is the εἶδος of the Father's Godhead; and then in the Son is the εἶδος of the Father. These expressions are equivalent, if Father and Son are, Each separately, ἴδιος θεός. vid. infr. p. 424, note o. S. Greg. Naz. uses the word ἀνείδεον, (Exod. 33, 23.) which forms a contrast to εἶδος, for the Divine Works. Orat. 28, 3.

8. Wherefore also is He implied together with the Father. For, a son not being, one cannot say father; whereas when we call God a Maker, we do not of necessity intimate the things which have come to be; for a maker is before his works[q]. But when we call God Father, at once with the Father we signify the Son's existence[l]. Therefore also he who believes in the Son, believes also in the Father; for he believes in what is proper to the Father's Substance; and thus the faith is one in one God. And he who worships and honours the Son, in the Son worships and honours the Father; for one is the Godhead; and therefore one[r] the honour and one the worship which is paid to the Father in and through the Son. And he who thus worships, worships one God; for there is one God and none other than He. Accordingly when the Father is called the only God, and we read that there is one God, and *I am*, and *beside Me there is no God*, and *I the first and I am the last*, this has a fit meaning. For God is One and Only and First; but this is not said to the denial of the Son[s]; perish the thought; for He is in that One, and First and Only, as being of that One and Only and First the Only Word and Wisdom and Radiance. And He too is the First, as the Fulness of the Godhead of the First and Only, being whole and full God[t]. This then is not

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[l] ὕπαρξιν.

Mark 12, 23. Ex. 3, 14. Deut. 32, 39. Sept. Is. 44, 6.

[s] p. 33, note r.

[q] vid. supr. pp. 55, 228. This is in opposition to the Arians, who said that the title Father implied priority of existence. Athan. says that the title "Maker" does, but that the title "father" does not. vid. supr. p. 65, note m. p. 98, note n. p. 223, note g. p. 338, note d.

[r] Athan. de Incarn. c. Ar. 19, c. vid. Ambros. de fid. iii. cap. 12, 13. Naz. Orat. 23, 8. Basil. de Sp. S. n. 64.

[s] vid. supr. 1, note b. ii. 41 fin. also infr. iv. 1. "You have the Son, you have the Father; fear not duality.... There is One God, because Father is One, and Son is God, having identity as Son towards Father....The Father is the whole fulness of Godhead as Father, and the Son is the whole fulness of Godhead as Son....The Father has Being perfect and without defect, being root and fount of the Son and the Spirit; and the Son is in the fulness of Godhead, a Living Word and Offspring of the Father without defect. And the Spirit is full of the Son, not being part of another, but whole in Himself;.... Let us understand that the Face (ἰδέα) is One of Three truly subsisting, beginning in Father, beaming in Son, and manifested through Spirit." Pseudo-Ath. c. Sab. Greg. 5—12. "I hardly arrive at contemplating the One, when I am encircled with the radiance of the Three; I hardly arrive at distinguishing the Three, when I am carried back to the One. When I have imaged to myself One of the Three, I think It the whole, and my sight is filled, and what is more escapes me....And when I embrace the Three in my contemplation, I see but One Luminary, being unable to distinguish or to measure the Light which becomes One." Naz. Orat. 40, 41. "Thou art That which begetteth and That which is begotten ....for Thou wast poured forth, O ineffably bearing, to bear a Son, glorious Wisdom, Framer of all; and though poured forth Thou remainest, ἀνέμπαι-

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said on His account, but to deny that there is other such as the Father and His Word.

τριαδὶς μεμυήμενος &c. Synes. Hymn. iii. pp. 328, 9. "The fulness of Godhead is in the Father, and the fulness of Godhead is in the Son, but not differing, but one Godhead....If of all believers there was one soul and one heart....if every one who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit,....if man and wife are one flesh, if all of us men in respect of nature are of one substance, if Scripture thus speaks of human things, that many are one, of which there can be no comparison with things divine, how much more are Father and Son One in Godhead, where there is no difference of substance or of will, &c." Ambros. de Fid. i. n. 18. "This Trinity is of one and the same nature and substance, not less in Each than in All, nor greater in All than in Each; but so great in Father alone or in Son alone, as in Father and Son together ....For the Father did not lessen Himself to have a Son for Himself, but so begat of Himself another self, as to remain whole in Himself, and to be in the Son as great as He is by Himself. And so the Holy Ghost, whole from whole, doth not precede That wherein He proceeds, but is so great with Him as He is from Him, and neither lessens Him by proceeding nor increases by adhering....Moreover, He who hath given to so many hearts of His faithful to be one heart, how much more doth He maintain in Himself that these Three and Each of Them should be God, and yet all together, not three gods, but One God?" August. Ep. 170, 5. vid. p. 334, note y. and infr. note on 36 fin.

CHAP. XXIV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; EIGHTHLY, JOHN xvii. 3. AND THE LIKE.

Our Lord's divinity cannot interfere with His Father's prerogatives, as the One God, which were so earnestly upheld by the Son. "One" is used in contrast to false gods and idols, not to the Son, through whom the Father spoke. Our Lord adds His Name to the Father's, as included in Him. The Father the First, not as if the Son were not First too, but as Origin.

1. Now that this is the sense of the Prophet is clear and manifest to all; but since the irreligious men, alleging such passages also, dishonour the Lord and reproach us, saying, "Behold God is said to be One and Only and First; how say ye that the Son is God? for if He were God, He had not said, *I Alone*, nor *God is One*;" it is necessary to declare the sense of these phrases in addition, as far as we can, that all may know from this also that the Arians are really contending with God[1]. If there then is rivalry[2] of the Son towards the Father, then be such words uttered against Him; and if according to what is said to David concerning Adonias and Absalom, so also the Father looks upon the Son, then let Him utter and urge such words against Himself, lest He the Son, calling Himself God, make any to revolt from the Father. But if he who knows the Son, on the contrary, knows the Father, the Son Himself revealing Him to him, and in the Word he shall rather see the Father, as has been said, and if the Son on coming, glorified not Himself but the Father, saying to one who came to Him, *Why callest thou Me good? none is good save One, that is, God*[3]; and to one who asked, what was the great commandment in the Law, answering, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord;* and saying to the multitudes, *I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me;* and teaching the disciples, *My Father is greater* §. 7.

Deut. 32, 39; 6, 4. &c.

[1] ὑπερέχει. vid. Acts 5, 39.

[2] ἔμπλαξα 2 Sam. 15. 1 Kings 1.

Luke 18, 19.

[3] vid. Basil. Ep. 236, 1. Mark 12, 28. 29. John 6, 38; 14, 28.

Disc. III. *than I*, and *He that honoureth Me, honoureth Him that sent Me;* if the Son is such towards His own Father, what is the difficulty[1], that one must need take such a view of such passages? and on the other hand, if the Son is the Father's Word, who is so wild, besides these Christ-opposers, as to think that God has thus spoken, as traducing and denying His own Word? This is not the mind of Christians; perish the thought; for not with reference to the Son is it thus written, but for the denial of those falsely called gods, invented by men.

vid. John 5, 23.

[1] ἐναντιό-της ἵνα λάβῃ, vid. §. 58. note

2. And this account of the meaning of such passages is satisfactory; for since those who are devoted to gods falsely so called, revolt from the True God, therefore God, being good and careful for mankind, recalling the wanderers, says, *I am Only God*, and *I Am*, and *Besides Me there is no God*, and the like; that He may condemn things which are not, and may convert all men to Himself. And as, supposing in the day-time when the sun was shining, a man were rudely to paint a piece of wood, which had not even the appearance of light, and call that image the cause of light, and if the sun with regard to it were to say, "I alone am the light of the day, and there is no other light of the day but I," he would say this, with regard, not to his own radiance, but to the error arising from the wooden image and the dissimilitude[2] of that vain representation; so it is with *I am*, and *I am Only God*, and *There is none other besides Me*, viz. that He may make men renounce falsely called gods, and that they may recognise Him the true God instead.

§. 8.

[2] ἀνομοιό-τητα

3. Indeed when God said this, He said it through His own Word, unless forsooth these modern[3] Jews add this too, that He has not said this through His Word; but so hath He spoken, though they rave, these followers of the devil[4]. For the Word of the Lord came to the Prophet, and this was what was heard; nor is there the thing which God says

[3] εἰ γὰρ, vid. p. 282, note a.

Hist. Ar. 61, fin.

[4] διαβολικοί. vid. supr. p. 9, note s. vid. also Orat. ii. 38, a. 73, a. 74 init. Ep. Æg. 4 and 6. In the passage before us there seems an allusion to false accusation or lying, which is the proper meaning of the word; διαβάλλων occurs shortly before. And so in Apol. ad Const. when he calls Magnentius διάβολος, it is as being a traitor, 7. and soon after he says that his accuser was τὸν διάβολον τρόπον ἀναλαβών, where the word has no article, and διαβίβλημαι and διβλήθην have preceded. vid. also Hist. Ar. 52 fin. And so in Sent. D. his speaking of the Arians' "father the devil," 3, c. is explained 4, b. by τοὺς στασιώτας διαβαλλόντων and τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀνίσιον διαβολῆς. vid. also 27 fin.

or does, but He says and does it in the Word. Not then with reference to Him is this said, O Christ's enemies, but to things foreign to Him and not from[1] Him. For according to the aforesaid illustration, if the sun had spoken those words, he would have been setting right the error and have so spoken, not as having his radiance without him, but in the radiance shewing his own light. Therefore not for the denial of the Son, nor with reference to Him, are such passages, but to the overthrow of falsehood. Accordingly God spoke not such words to Adam at the beginning, though His Word was with Him, by whom all things came to be; for there was no need, before idols came in; but when men made insurrection against the truth, and named for themselves gods such as they would[2], then it was that need arose of such words, for the denial of gods that were not. Nay I would add, that they were said even in anticipation of the folly of these Christ-opposers[b], that they might know, that whatsoever god they devise external to the Father's Substance, he is not True God, nor Image and Son of the Only and First.

CHAP. XXIV.

[1] παρά, vid. p. 434, n. 1. and John 15, 26.

[2] οὐδὲ ἦθελον, infr. p. 414, note a.

4. If then the Father be called the only true God, this is said not to the denial of Him who said, *I am the Truth*, but of those on the other hand who by nature are not true, as the Father and His Word are. And hence the Lord Himself added at once, *And Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.* Now had He been a creature, He would not have added this, and ranked Himself with His Creator; (for what fellowship is there between the True and the not true?) but now by adding Himself to the Father, He has shewn that He is of the Father's nature; and He has given us to know that of the True Father He is True Offspring. And John too, as he had learned[3], so he teaches this, writing in his Epistle, *And we are in the True, even in His Son Jesus Christ; This is the True God and eternal life.* And when the Prophet says concerning the creation, *That stretcheth forth the heavens alone*, and when God says, *I only stretch out the heavens*, it is made plain to every one, that in the Only is signified also the Word of the Only, in whom *all things were made*, and

§. 9. John 14, 6. John 17, 3.

[3] μαθὼν ἰδίᾳ ξε, supr. p. 13, note a. p. 282, note b. 1 John 5, 20. Isai. 44, 24. John 1, 3.

[b] who worship one whom they themselves call a creature, vid. supr. p. 191, note d. p. 301, note c. p. 310, note h. infr. p. 423, notes m and n.

Disc. III. without whom *was made not one thing.* Therefore, if they were made through the Word, and yet He says, *I Only*, and together with that Only is understood the Son, through whom the heavens were made, so also then, if it be said, *One God*, and *I Only*, and *I the First*, in that One and Only and First is understood the Word coexisting[1], as in the Light the Radiance.

[1] συνών.

5. And this can be understood of no other than the Word alone. For all other things subsisted out of nothing through the Son, and are greatly different in nature; but the Son Himself is natural and true Offspring from the Father; and thus the very passage which these insensates have thought fit to adduce, *I the First*, in defence of their heresy, doth rather expose their perverse spirit[2]. For God says, *I the First and I the Last;* if then, as though ranked with the things after Him, He is said to be first of them, so that they come next to Him, then certainly you will have shewn that He Himself precedes the works in time only[c]; which, to go no further, is extreme irreligion; but if it is in order to prove that He is not from any, nor any before Him, but that He is Origin and Cause of all things, and to destroy the Gentile fables, that He has said *I the First*, it is plain also, that when the Son is called First-born, this is done not for the sake of ranking Him with the creation, but to prove the framing and adoption of all things[3] through the Son. For as the Father is First, so also is He both First[d], as Image of the First, and

[2] καινότητα

[3] vid. p. 368, note g.

[c] He says that in "I the first" the question of time does not come in, else creatures would come *second* to the Creation, as if His and their duration admitted of a common measure. "First" then does not imply succession, but is equivalent to ἀρχή; a word which, as "Father," does not imply that the Son is not from eternity.

[d] It is no inconsistency to say that the Father is first, and the Son first also, for comparison or number does not enter into this mystery. Since Each is ἕλης ἑνὶς, Each, as contemplated by our finite reason, at the moment of contemplation excludes the Other. Though we *say* Three Persons, Person hardly denotes one abstract *idea*, certainly not as containing under it three individual subjects, but it is a *term* applied to the One God in three ways. It is the doctrine of the Fathers, that, though we use words expressive of a Trinity, yet that God is beyond number, and that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, though eternally distinct from each other, can scarcely be viewed together in common, except as *One* substance, as if they could not be generalized into Three Any whatever; and as if it were, strictly speaking, incorrect to speak of *a* Person, or otherwise than of *the* Person, whether of Father, or of Son, or of Spirit. The question has almost been admitted by S. Austin, whether it is not possible to say that God is *One* Person, (Trin. vii. 8.) for He is wholly and entirely Father, and at the same time wholly and entirely Son, and wholly and entirely Holy Ghost. Some pas-

because the First is in Him, and also Offspring from the Father, in whom the whole creation is created and adopted into sonship.

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sages from the Fathers shall be given on that subject, infr. 36 fin. vid. also supr. p. 407, note s. Meanwhile the doctrine here stated will account for such expressions as "God from God," i. e. the One God (who is the Son) from the One God (who is the Father); vid. supr. p. 155, note f. Again, *ἡ οὐσία αὕτη τῆς οὐσίας τῆς πατρικῆς ἴσον γίνημα.* de Syn. 48, b. Vid. also infr. Orat. iv. 1 and 2. where he argues against the Sabellian hypothesis as making the Divine Nature compound, (the Word being a something in It,) whereas the Catholic doctrine preserves unity because the Father is the One God simply and entirely, and the Son the One God singly and entirely, (vid. supr. p. 334, note y.); the Word not a sound, which is nothing, nor a quality which is unworthy of God, but a substantial Word and a substantial Wisdom. "As," he continues, "the Origin is One substance, so Its Word and Wisdom is One, substantial and subsistent; for as from God is God, and from Wise Wisdom, and from rational (*λογικοῦ*) a Word, and from Father a Son, so from a subsistence is He subsistent, and from substance substantial and substantive, and from existing existing," &c.

CHAP. XXV.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; NINTHLY, JOHN x. 30; xvii. 11, &c.

Arian explanation, that the Son is one with the Father in will and judgment; but so are all good men, nay things inanimate; contrast of the Son. Oneness between Them is in nature, because oneness in operation. Angels not objects of prayer, because they do not work together with God, but the Son; texts quoted. Seeing an Angel, is not seeing God. Arians in fact hold two Gods, and tend to Gentile polytheism. Arian explanation that the Father and Son are one, *as* we are one with Christ, is put aside by the Regula Fidei, and shewn invalid by the usage of Scripture in illustrations; the true force of the comparison; force of the terms used. Force of "in us;" force of "as;" confirmed by S. John. In what sense we are "in God" and His "sons."

Disc. III. §. 10.

1. However here too they introduce their private fictions, and contend that the Son and the Father are not in such wise "one," or "like," as the Church preaches, but, as they themselves would have it[a]. For they say, since what the Father wills, the Son wills also, and is not contrary either in what He thinks or in what He judges, but is in all respects concordant[b] with Him, declaring doctrines which are the same, and a word consistent and united with the Father's teaching, therefore it is that He and the Father are One; and some of them have dared to write as well as say this[1]. Now what can be more

[1] Asterius, p. 401 init.

[a] ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσι. vid. p. 411, r. 2. and infr. p. 425, r. 2 "not as you say, but as we will." This is a common phrase with Athan. vid. supr. p. 92, note r. and especially Hist. Tract. O. T. p. 266, note d. (vid. also Sent. Dion. 4, b. 14, b.) It is here contrasted to the Church's doctrine, and connected with the word ἴδιος. for which supr. p. 78, note n. p. 233, note a. Vid. also de Mort. Ar. fin. Also contr. Apoll. ii. 5 init. in contrast with the εὐαγγελικὸς ὅρος. Apol. contr. Ar. 36, d. Vid. also 2, f. de fug. 2, a.

[b] σύμφωνος. vid. infr. 23. supr. p. 148. the Arian συμφωνία has been touched on supr. p. 107, note f. p. 155, note g. Besides Origen, Novatian, the Creed of Lucian, and (if so) S. Hilary, as mentioned in the former of these notes, "one" is explained as oneness of will by S. Hippolytus, contr. Noet. 7, where he explains John 10, 30. by 17, 22. like the Arians; and, as might be expected, by Eusebius Eccl. Theol. iii. p. 193. and by Asterius ap. Euseb. contr. Marc. pp. 28, 37. The passages of the Fathers in which this text is adduced are collected by Maldonat. in loc.

extravagant or irrational than this? for if therefore the Son and the Father are One, and if in this way the Word is like the Father, it follows forthwith[c] that the Angels[d] too, and the other beings above us, Powers and Authorities, and Thrones and Dominions, and what we see, Sun and Moon, and the Stars, should be sons also, as the Son; and that it should be said of them too, that they and the Father are one, and that each is God's Image and Word. For what God wills, that will they; and neither in judging nor in doctrine are they discordant, but in all things are obedient to their Maker. For they would not have preserved their own glory, unless, what the Father willed, that they had willed also. He, for instance, who did not preserve it, but became deranged, heard the words, *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning?* Is. 14, 12.

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2. But if this be so, how is only He Only-begotten Son and Word and Wisdom? or how, whereas so many are like the Father, is He only an Image? for among men too will be found many like the Father, numbers, for instance, of martyrs, and before them the Apostles and Prophets, and again before them the Patriarchs. And many now too keep the Saviour's command, being merciful *as their Father which is in heaven*, and observing the exhortation, *Be ye therefore followers of God as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us;* many too have become followers of Paul as he also of Christ. And yet no one of these is Word or Wisdom or Only-begotten Son or Image; nor has any one of them had the audacity to say, *I and the Father are One*, or, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me;* but it is said of all of them, *Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord? and who shall be likened to the Lord among the sons of God?* and of Him on the contrary that He only is Image true and natural of the Father. For though we were made after the Image[1], and called both image and glory of God, yet not on our own account still, but for that Image and true Glory of God inhabiting us, which is His Word, who was for us afterwards made flesh, have we this grace of our designation.

Matt. 5, 48. Eph. 5, 1. 2. John 10, 30; *My* t. r. 14, 10. vid. Ps. 86, 8; 89, 7.

[1] Aug. de Trin. vii fin.

[c] ἄρα. vid. p. 130, note c. also Orat. ii. 6, b. iv. 19, c. d. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 47, b. p. 91, b. Cyril. Dial. p. 456. Thesaur. p. 255 fin.

[d] This argument is found above, p. 148. vid. also Cyril. de Trin. i. p. 407.

Disc. III. §. 11.

3. This their notion then being evidently unseemly and irrational as well as the rest, the likeness and the oneness must be referred to the very Substance of the Son; for unless it be so taken, He will not be shewn to have any thing beyond things generate, as has been said, nor will He be like the Father, but He will be like the Father's doctrines; and He differs from the Father, in that the Father is Father[e], but the doctrines and teaching are the Father's. If then in respect to the doctrines and the teaching the Son is like the Father, then the Father according to them will be Father in name only, and the Son will not be an unvarying[1] Image, or rather will be seen to have no propriety at all or likeness of the Father; for what likeness or propriety has he who is so utterly different from the Father? for Paul taught like the Saviour, yet was not like Him in substance[2]. Having then such notions, they speak falsely[3]; whereas the Son and the Father are one in such wise as has been said, and in such wise is the Son like the Father Himself and from Him, as we may see and understand son to be towards father, and as we may see the radiance towards the sun.

[1] ἀπαραλλάκτους

[2] κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιος, p. 210, note e.

[3] ψεύδονται

4. Such then being the Son, therefore when the Son works, the Father is the Worker[4], and the Son coming to the Saints, the Father is He who cometh in the Son[f], as He has promised

[4] p. 406.

[e] ὁ μὲν πατὴρ, πατήρ ἐστι. And so, "In the Godhead only, ὁ πατὴρ κυρίως ἐστὶ πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κυρίως υἱός." Serap. i. 16. vid. the whole passage. He speaks of "receding from things generate, casting away human images, and ascending to the Father." supr. p. 153. and of men "not being in nature and truth benefactors," Almighty God being Himself the type and pattern. infr. pp. 427, 8. and note r. Vid. pp. 211, 214, 215. and p. 18, note o. p. 211, note f. p. 212, note g. And so S. Cyril, τὸ κυρίως τίκτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἴδιόν ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μίμησιν. Thesaur. p. 133. πατὴρ κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ υἱὸς· ὥσπερ καὶ υἱὸς κυρίως, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πατήρ. Naz. Orat. 29, 5. vid. also 23, 6 fin. 25, 16. vid. also the whole of Basil. adv. Eun. ii. 23. "One must not say," he observes, "that these names properly and primarily, κυρίως καὶ πρώτως belong to men, and are given by us but by a figure καταχρηστικῶς (p. 335, note a.) to God. For our Lord Jesus Christ, referring us back to the Origin of all and True Cause of beings, says, 'Call no one your father upon earth, for One is your Father, which is in heaven.'" He adds, that if He is properly and not metaphorically even our Father, (vid. p. 56, note k.) much more is He the πατὴρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν υἱοῦ Vid. also Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 22, c. Eccl. Theol. i. 12. fin. ii. 6. Marcellus, on the other hand, said that our Lord was κυρίως λόγος, not κυρίως υἱός. ibid. ii. 10 fin. vid. supr. p 307, note d.

[f] And so ἐργαζομένου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν υἱόν. In illud Omn. 1, d. Cum luce nobis prodeat, In Patre totus Filius, et totus in Verbo Pater. Hymn. Brev. in fer. 2. Ath. argues from this oneness of operation the oneness of substance. And thus S. Chrysostom on the text under review argues that if the Father and Son are one κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, They are one also in οὐσία. in Joan. Hom. 61, 2, d. Tertullian in Prax. 22. and S. Epiphanius, Hær. 57.

when He says, *I and My Father will come, and will make Our abode with him;* for in the Image is contemplated the Father, and in the Radiance is the Light. Therefore, as we said just now, when the Father gives grace and peace, the Son also gives it, as Paul signifies in every Epistle, writing, *Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.* For one and the same grace is from the Father in the Son, as the light of the sun and of the radiance is one, and the sun's illumination is effected through the radiance; and so too when he prays for the Thessalonians, in saying, *Now God Himself even our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, may He direct our way unto you,* he has guarded the unity of the Father and of the Son. For he has not said, "May they direct," as if a double grace were given from two Sources, This and That, but *May He direct,* to shew that the Father gives it through the Son;—at which these irreligious ones will not blush, though they well might. For if there were no unity, nor the Word the proper Offspring of the Father's Substance, as the radiance of the light, but the Son were divided in nature from the Father, it were sufficient that the Father alone should give, since none of generate things is a partner with his Maker in His givings; but, as it is, such a mode of giving shews the oneness of the Father and the Son. No one, for instance, would pray to receive from God and the Angels[s], or from any other creature, nor would

CHAP. XXV. John 14, 23.

1 Thess. 3, 11.

§. 12.

p. 488. seem to say the same on the same text. vid. Lampe in loc. And so S. Athan. τριὰς ἀδιαίρετος τῇ φύσει, καὶ μία ταύτης ἡ ἐνέργεια. Serap. i. 28, f. ἓν θέλημα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ βούλημα, ἑνὶ καὶ ἡ φύσις μία. In illud Omn. 5. Various passages of the Fathers to the same effect, (e. g. of S. Ambrose, si unius voluntatis et operationis, unius est essentiæ, de Sp. ii. 12 fin. and of S. Basil, ὃν μία ἐνέργεια, τούτων καὶ οὐσία μία, of Greg. Nyss. and Cyril. Alex.) are brought together in the Lateran Council. Concil. Hard. t. 3, p. 859, &c. The subject is treated at length by Petavius Trin. iv. 15.

s Vid. Basil de Sp. S. c. 13. "There were men," says Chrysostom on Col. 2. "who said, We ought not to have access to God through Christ, but through Angels, for the former is beyond our power. Hence the Apostle every where insists on his teaching concerning Christ, 'through the blood of the Cross,'" &c. And Theodoret on Col. 3, 17. says, "Following this rule, the Synod of Laodicea, with a view to cure this ancient disorder, passed a decree against the praying to Angels, and leaving our Lord Jesus Christ." "All supplication, prayer, intercession, and thanksgiving is to be addressed to the Supreme God, through the High Priest who is above all Angels, the Living Word and God.... But angels we may not fitly call upon, since we have not obtained a knowledge of them which is above men." Origen contr. Cels. v. 4, 5. vid. also for similar statements Voss. de Idololatr. i. 9. These extracts are made in illustration of the particular passage to which they are appended, not as if they contain the whole doctrine of Origen, Theodoret,

Disc. III. any one say, " God and the Angel may He give thee ;" but from Father and the Son, because of Their oneness and the oneness[1] of Their giving. For through the Son is given what is given; and there is nothing but the Father operates it through the Son; for thus is grace secure to him who receives it.

[1] ἑνώσεως vid. p. 144, r. 2.

5. And if the Patriarch Jacob, blessing his grandchildren Ephraim and Manasses, said, *God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which delivered me from all evil, bless the lads*[h], yet none of created and natural Angels did he join to God their Creator, nor rejecting God that fed him, did he from Angel ask the blessing on his grandsons; but in saying, *Who delivered me from all evil*, he shewed that it was no created Angel, but the Word of God, whom he joined to the Father in his prayer, through whom, whomsoever He will, God doth deliver. For knowing that He is also called the Father's *Angel of great Counsel*, he said that none other than He was the Giver of blessing, and Deliverer from evil. Nor was it that he desired a blessing for himself from God, but for his grandchildren from the Angel, but whom He Himself had besought saying, *I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me*, (for that was God, as he says himself, *I have seen God face to face*,) Him he prayed to bless also the sons of Joseph.

Gen. 48, 15. 16.

Is. 9, 6. Sept.

Gen. 32, 26. 30.

6. It is proper then to an Angel to minister at the command of God, and often does he go forth to cast out the Amorite, and is sent to guard the people in the way; but these are not his doings, but of God who commanded and sent him, whose also it is to deliver, whom He will deliver. Therefore it was no other than the Lord God Himself whom he had seen, who said to him, *And behold I am with thee, to guard thee in all the way whither thou*

Gen. 28, 15. Sept.

or S. Chrysostom on the cultus angelorum. Of course they are not inconsistent with such texts as 1 Tim. 5, 21. The doctrine of the Gnostics, who worshipped Angels, is referred to supr. Orat. i. 56. p. 262, note f.

[h] Vid. Serap. i. 14. And on the doctrine vid. p. 120, note g. Infr. p. 421. he shews that his doctrine, when fully explained, does not differ from S. Augustine, for he says, " what was *seen* was an Angel, but God spoke in him," i. e. sometimes the Son is *called* an Angel, but when an Angel was *seen*, it was not the Son; and if he called himself God, it was not he who spoke, but the Son was the unseen speaker. vid. Benedictine Monitum in Hil. Trin. iv. For passages vid. Tertull. de Præscr. p. 447, note f. O. T.

goest; and it was no other than God whom he had seen, who kept Laban from his treachery, ordering him not to speak evil words to Jacob; and none other than God did he himself beseech, saying, *Rescue me from the hand of my brother Esau, for I fear him;* for in conversation too with his wives he said, *God hath not suffered Laban to injure me.* Therefore it was none other than God Himself that David too besought concerning his deliverance, *When I was in trouble, I called upon the Lord, and He heard me; deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips and from a deceitful tongue.* To Him also giving thanks he spoke the words of the Song in the seventeenth Psalm, in the day in which the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul, saying, *I will love Thee, O Lord my strength; the Lord is my strong rock and my defence and deliverer.* And Paul, after enduring many persecutions, to none other than God gave thanks, saying, *Out of them all the Lord delivered me; and He will deliver in whom we trust.* And none other than God blessed Abraham and Isaac; and Isaac praying for Jacob, said, *May God bless thee and increase thee and multiply thee, and thou shalt be for many companies of nations, and may He give thee the blessing of Abraham my father.*

CHAP. XXV.

Gen. 31, 14; 32, 11.

§. 13.

Ps. 120, 1. 2.

Ps. 18, 1.

vid. 2 Tim. 3, 11.

2 Cor. 1, 10.

Gen. 28, 3. Sept.

7. But if it belong to none other than God to bless and to deliver, and none other was the deliverer of Jacob than the Lord Himself, and Him that delivered him the Patriarch besought for his grandsons, evidently none other did he join to God in his prayer, than God's Word, whom therefore he called Angel, because it is He alone who reveals the Father. Which the Apostle also did when he said, *Grace unto you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.* For thus the blessing was secure, because of the Son's indivisibility[1] from the Father, and for that the grace given by Them is one and the same. For though the Father gives it, through the Son is the gift; and though the Son be said to vouchsafe it, it is the Father who supplies it through and in the Son; for *I thank my God,* says the Apostle writing to the Corinthians, *always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you in Christ Jesus.* And this one may see in the instance of light and radiance; for what the

[1] ἀδιαίρετον

1 Cor. 1, 4.

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§. 14. 8. But this is not so with things generate and creatures; for when the Father works, it is not that any Angel works, or any other creature; for none of these is an efficient cause[1], but they are of things which come to be; and moreover being separate and divided from the only God, and other in nature, and being works, they can neither work what God works, nor, as I said before, when God gives grace, can they give grace with Him. Nor, on seeing an Angel would a man say that he had seen the Father; for Angels, as it is written, are *ministering spirits sent forth to minister*, and are heralds of gifts given by Him through the Word to those who receive them. And the Angel on his appearance, himself confesses that he has been sent by his Lord[2], as Gabriel confessed in the case of Zacharias, and also in the case of Mary, Mother of God[1]. And he who beholds a

[1] πανταχοῦ αἴτιον p. 310, note h.

Heb. 1, 14.

[2] διακόνου

[1] τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας. vid. also infr. 29, 33. Orat. iv. 32. Incarn. c. Ar. 8, 22. supr. p. 244, note l. As to the history of this title, Theodoret, who from his party would rather be disinclined towards it, says that "*the most ancient* (τῶν πάλαι καὶ πρώτων) heralds of the orthodox faith taught to name and believe the Mother of the Lord θεοτόκον, according to *the Apostolical tradition*." Hær. iv. 12. And John of Antioch, whose championship of Nestorius and quarrel with S. Cyril are well known writes to the former. "This title no ecclesiastical teacher has put aside; those who have used it are many and eminent, and those who have not used it have not attacked those who used it." Concil. Eph. part i. c. 25. (Labb.) And Alexander, the most obstinate or rather furious of all Nestorius's adherents, who died in banishment in Egypt, fully allows the ancient reception of the word, though only into popular use, from which came what he considers the doctrinal corruption. "That in festive solemnities, or in preaching and teaching, θεοτόκος should be unguardedly said by the orthodox without explanation, is no blame, because such statements were not dogmatic, nor said with evil meaning. But now after the corruption of the whole world, &c." Lup. Ephes. Ep. 94. He adds that it, as well as ἀνθρωποτόκος, was used by "the great doctors of the Church." Socrates Hist. vii. 32. says that Origen, in the first tome of his Comment on the Romans, (vid. de la Rue in Rom. lib. i. 5. the original is lost,) treated largely of the word; which implies that it was already in use. "Interpreting," he says, "*how* θεοτόκος is used, he discussed the question at length." Constantine implies the same in a passage which divines, e. g. Pearson (On the Creed, notes on Art. 3.) have not dwelt upon, (or rather have apparently overlooked, in arguing from Ephrem ap. Phot. Cod. 228, p. 776. that the literal phrase "Mother of God" originated in S. Leo,) in which, in pagan language indeed and with a painful allusion, as it would seem, to heathen mythology, he says, "When He had to draw near to a body of this world, and to tarry on earth, the need so requiring, He contrived a sort of irregular birth of Himself, νέαν τινὰ γένεσιν; for without marriage was there conception, and childbirth, ἀλλ' ἄσπορα, of a pure Virgin, and a maid the Mother of God, θεοῦ μήτηρ κόρη." ad Sanct. Cœt. p. 480. The idea must have been familiar to Christians before it could thus be paralleled or represented. vid. notes on 29, 33 infr.

vision of Angels, knows that he has seen the Angel and not God. For Zacharias saw an Angel; and Esaias saw the Lord. Manoe, the father of Samson, saw an Angel; but Moses beheld God. Gideon saw an Angel, but to Abraham appeared God. And neither he who saw God, beheld an Angel, nor he who saw an Angel, considered that he saw God; for greatly, or rather wholly, do things by nature generate differ from God the Creator. But if at any time, when the Angel was seen, he who saw it heard God's voice, as took place at the bush; for *the Angel of the Lord was seen in a flame of fire out of the bush, and the Lord called Moses out of the bush, saying, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob*, yet was not the Angel the God of Abraham, but in the Angel God spoke. And what was seen was an Angel; but God spoke in him[1]. For as He spoke to Moses in the pillar of a cloud in the tabernacle, so also God appears and speaks in Angels. So again to the son of Nave He spake by an Angel. But what God speaks, it is very plain He speaks through the Word, and not through another. And the Word, as being not separate from the Father, nor unlike[2] and foreign to the Father's Substance, what He works, those are the Father's works, and His framing of all things is one with His; and what the Son gives, that is the Father's gift. And he who hath seen the Son, knows that, in seeing Him, he has seen, not Angel, nor one merely greater than Angels, nor in short any creature, but the Father Himself. And he who hears the Word, knows that he hears the Father; as he who is irradiated by the radiance, knows that he is enlightened by the sun.

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vid. Ex. 3, 2—6.

[1] p. 418, note h.

[2] ἀνόμοιος

9. For divine Scripture wishing us thus to understand the matter, has given such illustrations, as we have said above, from which we are able both to press the traiterous Jews, and to refute the allegation of Gentiles who maintain and think, on account of the Trinity, that we profess many gods[k]. For, as the illustration shews, we do not introduce three Origins or three Fathers, as the followers of Marcion and Manichæus; since we have not suggested the image of three suns, but sun

§. 15.

[k] Serap. 1, 28 fin. Naz. Orat. 23, 8. Catech. 3. p. 481. Basil. Hom. 24 init. Nyssen. Orat.

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and radiance. And one is the light from the sun in the radiance; and so we know of but one origin; and the All-framing Word we profess to have no other manner[1] of godhead, than that of the Only God, because He is born from Him. Rather then will the Ario-maniacs with reason incur the charge of polytheism or else of atheism[2], because they idly talk of the Son as external and a creature, and again the Spirit as from nothing. For either they will say that the Word is not God; or saying that He is God[3], because it is so written, but not proper to the Father's Substance, they will introduce many because of their difference of kind[4]; (unless forsooth they shall dare to say that by participation only, He, as all things else, is called God; though, if this be their sentiment, their irreligion is the same, since they consider the Word as one among all things[5].) But let this never even come into our mind. For there is but one face[6] of Godhead, which is also in the Word; and one God, the Father, existing by Himself according as He is above all, and appearing in the Son according as He pervades all things, and in the Spirit according as in Him He acts in all things through the Word[1]. For thus we confess God to be one through the Trinity, and we say that it is much more religious than the godhead of the heretics with its many kinds[7] and many parts, to entertain a belief of the One Godhead in Trinity.

[1] πρόσωπον

[2] infr. §. 64. Ep. Æg. 14, c.

[3] p. 423, notes m and n.

[4] ἑτεροουσίως

[5] ἵνα τῶν πάντων

[6] εἶδος, kind or face

[7] πολυειδοῦς, §. 16.

10. For if it be not so, but the Word is a creature and a work out of nothing, either He is not True God, because He is Himself one of the creatures, or if they name Him God

[1] And so infr. "The Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from the Word." 25. "That Spirit is in us which is in the Word which is in the Father." ibid. "The Father in the Son taketh the oversight of all." 36 fin. "The sanctification which takes place from Father through Son in Holy Ghost." Serap. i. 20, b. vid. also ibid. 28, f. a. 30, a. 31, d. iii. 1, b. 5 init. et fin. Eulogius says, "The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father, having the Father as an Origin, and proceeding through the Son unto the creation." ap. Phot. cod. p. 865. Damascene speaks of the Holy Spirit as δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς περιεχομένην καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἀναπαυομένην, F. O. i. 7. and in the beginning of the ch. says that "the Word must have Its Breath (Spirit) as our word is not without breath, though in our case the breath is distinct from the one substance." "The way to knowledge of God is from One Spirit through the One Son to the One Father." Basil. de Sp. S. 47, e. "We preach One God by One Son with the Holy Ghost." Cyr. Cat. xvi. 4. "The Father through the Son with the Holy Ghost bestows all things." ibid. 24. "All things have been made from Father through the Son in Holy Ghost." Pseudo-Dion. de Div. Nom. i. p. 403. "Through Son and in Spirit God made all things consist, and contains and preserves them." Pseudo-Athan. c. Sab. Greg. 10, e.

from regard for the Scriptures, they must of necessity say that there are two Gods[m], one Creator, the other creature, and must serve two Lords[1], one Ingenerate, and the other generate and a creature; and must have two faiths, one in the True God, and the other in one who is made and fashioned by themselves and called God. And it follows of necessity, in so great blindness, that, when they worship the Ingenerate, they renounce the generate, and when they come to the creature, they turn from the Creator. For they cannot see the One in the Other, because their natures and operations are foreign and distinct[2]. And with such sentiments, they will certainly be going on to more gods, for this will be the essay[3] of those who revolt from the One God. Wherefore then, when the Arians have these speculations and views, do they not rank themselves with the Gentiles? for they too, as these, worship the creature more than God the Creator of all[n]; and though they shrink from the Gentile name, in order to deceive the unskilful, yet they secretly hold[4] a like sentiment with them.

[1] κύριοι, masters

[2] p. 416, note f.

[3] ἐπιχείρημα, p. 2, note d.

[4] ὑπονοοῦσι

11. For their subtle saying which they are accustomed to urge, "We say not two Ingenerates[5]," they plainly say to deceive the simple[6]; for in their very professing "We say not two Ingenerates," they imply two Gods, and these with different natures, one generate and one Ingenerate. And though the Greeks worship one Ingenerate and many generate, but these one Ingenerate and one generate, this is no difference from them; for the God whom they call generate is one out of many, and again the many gods of the Greeks have the same nature with this one, for both he and they are creatures. Wretched are they and the more for that

[5] p. 224, note a.

[6] ἀπάτην

[m] vid. p. 118, note m. p. 63, note g. p. 150, note y. The Arians were in the dilemma of holding two gods or worshipping the creature, unless they denied to our Lord both divinity and worship. On the consequent attempt, especially of the Semi-Arians, to consider Our Lord neither as God nor a creature. vid. p. 10, note n. p. 224, note a. But "every substance," says S. Austin, "which is not God, is a creature, and which is not a creature, is God." de Trin. i. 6. And so S. Cyril, "We see God and creation and besides nothing; for whatever falls external to God's nature, is certainly generate; and whatever is clear of the definition of creation, is certainly within the definition of the Godhead." In Joan. p. 52. vid. also Naz. Orat. 31, 6. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 31.

[n] vid. supr. p. 301, note c. Petavius gives a large collection of passages, de Trin. ii. 12. §. 5. from the Fathers in proof of the worship of Our Lord evidencing His Godhead. On the Arians as idolaters vid. supr. p. 191, note d. also Ep. Æg. 4, 13. and Adelph. 3 init. Serap. i. 29, d. Theodor. in Rom. 1, 25.

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their fault is blasphemy against Christ; for they have fallen from the truth, and are greater traitors than the Jews in denying the Christ, and they wallow[1] with the Gentiles, hateful[2] as they are to God, worshipping the creature and many deities.

[1] συγκυλίονται, vid. Orat. i. 23, e. a. ii. 1 init. Decr. 9 fin. Gent. 19, c. cf. 2 Pet. 2, 22.

[2] ἀποστυγεῖς, infr. 41. Ath. Hist. Tr. p. 211. ref. 2. John 5, 37.

12. For there is One God, and not many, and One is His Word, and not many; for the Word is God, and He alone has the Face[o] of the Father[3]. Being then such, the Saviour Himself troubled the Jews with these words, *The Father Himself which hath sent Me, hath borne witness of Me; ye have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His Face; and ye have not His Word abiding in you; for whom He hath sent, Him ye believe not.* Suitably has He joined the *Word* to the *Face*, to shew that the Word of God is Himself Image and Expression and Face of His Father; and that the Jews who did not receive Him who spoke to them, thereby did not receive the Word, which is the Face of God. This too it was that the Patriarch Jacob having seen, received a blessing from Him and the name of Israel instead of Jacob, as divine Scripture witnesses, saying, *And as he passed by the Face of God, the sun rose upon him.* And This it was who said, *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, and, *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and, *I and the Father are*

[3] τὸ πατρικὸν εἶδος. Gen. 32, 31. John 14, 9; 10, 30.

[o] εἶδος. also in Gen. 32, 30. 31. Sept. where translated "face," E. T. though in John 5. "shape." vid. Justin Tryph. 126. and supr. p. 154. where vid. note e. for the meaning of the word. In p. 422. it was just now used for "kind." Athan. says, p. 154, "there is but one face of Godhead;" yet the word is used of the Son as synonymous with "image." It would seem as if there are a certain class of words, all expressive of the One Divine Substance, which admit of more appropriate application either ordinarily or under circumstances, to This or That Divine Person who is also that One Substance. Thus "Being" is more descriptive of the Father as the πηγὴ θεότητος, and He is said to be "the Being of the Son;" yet the Son is really the One Supreme Being also. On the other hand the word "form," μορφὴ, and "face," εἶδος. are rather descriptive of the Divine Substance in the Person of the Son, and He is called "the form" and "the face of the Father," yet there is but one Form and Face of Divinity, who is at once Each of Three Persons; while "Spirit" is appropriated to the Third Person, though God is a Spirit. Thus again S. Hippolytus says ἐκ [τοῦ πατρὸς] δύναμις λόγος, yet shortly before, after mentioning the Two Persons, he adds, δύναμιν δὲ μίαν. contr. Noet. 7 and 11. And thus the word "Subsistence," ὑπόστασις, which expresses the One Divine Substance, has been found more appropriate to express that Substance viewed personally. Other words may be used correlatively of either Father or Son; thus the Father is the Life of the Son, the Son the Life of the Father; or, again, the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father. Others in common, as "the Father's Godhead is the Son's," ἡ πατρικὴ υἱοῦ θεότης, as indeed the word οὐσία itself. Other words on the contrary express the Substance in This or That Person only, as "Word," "Image,"&c.

one; for thus God is One, and one the faith in the Father and Son; for, though the Word be God, the Lord our God is one Lord; for the Son is proper to that One, and inseparable according to the propriety and peculiarity[1] of His Substance. CHAP. XXV.

[1] *ἰδιωτικὸν.*

13. The Arians, however, not even thus abashed, reply, "Not as you say, but as we will[2]; for, whereas you have overthrown our former expedients[3], we have invented a new one, and it is this:—So are the Son and the Father One, and so is the Father in the Son and the Son in the Father, as we too may become one in Him. For this is written in the Gospel according to John, and Christ desired it for us in these words, *Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name, those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are.* And shortly after; *Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one, even as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me.*" Then, as having found an evasion, these men of craft[p] add, "If, as we become one in the Father, so also He and the Father are one, and thus He too is in the Father, how pretend you from His saying, *I and the Father are One*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, that He is proper and like[4] the Father's Substance? for it follows either that we too are proper to the Father's Substance, or He foreign to it, as we are foreign." τοῦτο §. 17. [2] p. 414, [3] ἐννοίας note a. John 17, 11. Ibid. 20—23. [4] p. 210, note e. infr. §. 67, d.

14. Thus they idly babble; but in this their perverseness[5] I see nothing but unreasoning audacity and recklessness from the devil[6], since it is saying after his pattern, "We will ascend to heaven, we will be like the Most High." For what is given to man by grace, this they would make equal to the Godhead of the Giver. Thus hearing that men are [5] πανουργίᾳ [6] διαβολικὴν vid. p. 410, note a.

[p] *οἱ δόλιοι.* crafty as they are, also infr. 59, b. And so *οἱ δυσσυνιγῆς.* supr. 16. *οἱ πανόφρονες.* infr. 26, b. *οἱ δόλιοι.* ibid. d. *οἱ παράφρονες.* de Decr. 8, a. *οἱ δόλιοι.* Orat. ii. 39 fin. *οἱ δυσσεβεῖς.* in illud Omn. 3 fin. *οἱ δαιμονιοί.* Ep. Æg. 14, c. 16 init. *οἱ πανοῦργοι.* Ep. Æg. 16, c. *οἱ παράνομοι.* Ep. Æg. 16, d. *οἱ ἄθεμοι.* Serap. i. 15, f. *οἱ ἀνόητοι* Orat. ii. 11, c. *οἱ μηδὲν ἀληθεύοντες.* Hist. Ar. 7, b. *οἱ ἀκατάφρονα καὶ μισόκαλοι.* ibid. e. *οἱ ὕποπτοι.* ibid. 9, d. *οἱ τολμηροί.* ibid. 20, e. *οἱ ἄφρονες.* ibid. 47, d. &c. &c.

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called sons, they thought themselves equal to the True Son by nature such[1]. And now again hearing from the Saviour, *that they may be one as We are*, they deceive themselves, and are arrogant enough to think that they may be such as the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son; not considering the fall of their *father the devil*[2], which happened upon such an imagination. If then, as we have many times said, the Word of God is the same with us, and nothing differs from us except in time, let Him be like us, and have the same place[3] with the Father as we have; nor let Him be called Only-begotten, nor Only Word or Wisdom of the Father; but let the same name be of common application to all us who are like Him. For it is right, that they who have one nature, should have their name in common, though they differ from each other in point of time. For Adam was a man, and Paul a man, and he who is begotten at this day is a man, and time is not that which alters the nature of the race[4]. If then the Word also differs from us only in time, then we must be as He. But in truth neither we are Word or Wisdom, nor is He creature or work; else why are we all sprung from one, and He the Only Word? but though it be suitable in them thus to speak, in us at least it is unsuitable to entertain their blasphemies. And yet, needless[5] though it be to refine upon[q] these passages, considering their so clear and religious sense, and our own orthodox belief, yet that their irreligion may be shewn here also, come let us shortly, as we have received from the fathers[6], expose their heterodoxy from the passage in question.

15. It is a custom[7] with divine Scripture, to take the things of nature as images and illustrations for mankind; and this it does, that from these physical objects the moral impulses[8] of man may be explained; and thus their conduct shewn to be either bad or righteous. For instance, in the case of the bad, as when it charges, *Be ye not like to horse and mule which have no understanding.* Or as when it says, complaining of those who have become such, *Man,*

§. 18.

[1] vid. supr. p. 56, note k. John 8, 44.

[2] p. 386, r. 1.

[3] χώραν

[4] supr. p. 16 init. p. 218, note a.

[5] vid. Ath. Hist. Tr. p. 292, note n.

[6] infr. §. 58, note

[7] p. 355, note c. Orat. iv. 33 init.

[8] τὰ ἐκ περιεργασίας νοήματα Ps. 32, 10; 49, 20.

[q] περιεργάζεσθαι. vid. p. 328, note k. p. 386, r. 5. p. 399, r. 4. infr. 43 init. Orat. iv. 33 init. Serap. i. 15 fin. 17, d. 18, e. περίεργα in Acts 19, 19. is generally interpreted of magic, though it is otherwise explained as embracing various kinds of bad books, in Ortlob. Dissert. ap. Thesaur. Nov. Theol.-Phil. in N. T. t. 2.

being in honour, hath no understanding, but is compared unto the beasts that perish. And again, *They were as fed horses in the morning.* And the Saviour to expose Herod said, *Tell that fox;* but, on the other hand, charged His disciples, *Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves.* And He said this, not that we may become in nature beasts of burden, or become serpents and doves; for He hath not so made us Himself, and therefore nature does not allow of it; but that we might eschew the irrational motions of the one, and being aware of the wisdom of that other animal, might not be deceived by it, and might take on us the meekness of the dove. Again, taking patterns for man from divine subjects, the Saviour says; *Be ye merciful, as your Father which is in heaven is merciful;* and, *Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.* And He said this too, not that we might become such as the Father; for to become, as the Father, is impossible for us creatures, who have been brought to be out of nothing; but as He charged us, *Be ye not like to horse,* not lest we should become as draught animals, but that we ought not imitate their want of reason, so, not that we might become as God, did He say, *Be ye merciful as your Father,* but that looking at His beneficent acts, what we do well, we might do, not for men's sake, but for His sake, so that from Him and not from men we may have the reward. For as, although there be one Son by nature, True and Only-begotten, we too become sons, not as He in nature and truth, but according to the grace of Him that calleth, and though we are men from the earth, are yet called gods[1], not as the True God or His Word, but as has pleased God who has given us that grace; so also, as God do we become merciful, not by being made equal to God, nor becoming in nature and truth benefactors, (for it is not our gift[2] to benefit but belongs to God,) but in order that what has accrued to us from God Himself by grace, these things we may impart to others, without making distinctions, but largely towards all extending our kind service. For only in this way can we any how become imitators, in no other, when we minister to others what comes from Him.

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Jer. 5, 8. Luke 13, 32. Matt. 10, 16. §. 19. Luke 6, 36. Matt. 5, 48.

[1] θεοί, p. 433, r. 1.

[2] ἴνημα

16. And as we put a fair and orthodox[3] sense upon these

[3] p. 341, note i.

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texts, such again is the sense of the passage in John. For he does not say, that, as the Son is in the Father, such we must become:—whence could it be? when He is God's Word and Wisdom, and we were fashioned out of the earth, and He is by nature and substance Word and true God, (for thus speaks John, *We know that the Son of God is come, and He hath given us an understanding to know Him that is True, and we are in Him that is True, even in His Son Jesus Christ; this is the true God and eternal life;*) and we are made sons through Him by adoption and grace, as partaking of His Spirit, (for *as many as received Him*, he says, *to them gave He power to become children of God, even to them that believe on His Name,*) and therefore also He is the Truth, (saying, *I am the Truth*, and in His address to His Father, He said, *Sanctify them through Thy Truth, Thy Word is Truth;*) but we by imitation[r] become virtuous[1] and sons:—therefore not that we might become such as He, did He say *that they may be one as We are;* but that as He, being the Word, is in His proper Father, so that we too, taking an exemplar[2] and looking at Him, might become one towards each other in concord and oneness of spirit, nor be at variance as the Corinthians, but mind the same thing, as those five thousand in the Acts, who were as one. For it is as *sons*, not as the Son; as *gods*, not as He Himself; and not as the Father, but *merciful as the Father*. And, as has been said, by so becoming one, as the Father and the Son, we shall be such, not as the Father is by nature in the Son and the Son in the Father, but according to our own nature, and as it is possible for us thence to be moulded[3] and to learn how we ought to be one, just as we learned also to be merciful. For like things are naturally one with like; thus all flesh is ranked together in kind[4]; but the Word is unlike us and like the Father. And therefore, while He is in nature and truth one with His own Father, we, as being

1 John 5, 20.

John 1, 12.

Ib. 14, 6.

Ib. 17, 17.

[1] ἐνάρετα so πανάρετος Clem. Rom. Ep. i. §. 20.

[2] τύπον

[3] τυπωθῆναι

[4] pp. 313, 349.

[r] κατὰ μίμησιν. Clem. Alex. τῶν εἰκόνων τὰς μὲν ἐκτετομένους, τὰς δὲ μεμουμένους. Pædag. i. 3. p. 102. ed. Pott. μιμήσει τοῦ νοὸς ἐκείνου. Naz. Ep. 102. p. 95. (Ed. Ben.) ut exemplum sequerentur imitando. Leo in various places, supr. p. 357, note e. ut imitatores operum, factorum, sermonum, &c. Iren. Hær. v. 1. exemplum verum et adjutorium. August. Serm. 101, 6. mediator non solum per adjutorium, verùm etiam per exemplum. August. Trin. iv. 17. also ix. 21. and Eusebius, though with an heretical meaning, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μίμησιν. Eccl. Theol. iii. 19, a. For inward grace as opposed to teaching, vid. supr. p. 360, note g. and p. 393, note e.

of one kind[1] with each other, (for from one were all made, and one is the nature of all men,) become one with each other in good disposition[2], having as our copy[3] the Son's natural unity with the Father. For as He taught us meekness from Himself, saying, *Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart*, not that we may become equal to Him, which is impossible, but that looking towards Him, we may remain meek continually, so also here, wishing that our good disposition towards each other should be true and firm and indissoluble, from Himself taking the pattern, He says, *that they may be one as We are*, whose oneness is indivisible[4]; that is, that they learning from us of that indivisible Nature, may preserve in like manner agreement one with another. And this imitation of things which are in nature is especially safe for man, as has been said; for, since they remain and never change, whereas the conduct of men is very changeable, one may look to what is unchangeable by nature, and avoid what is bad and remodel[5] himself on what is best.

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[1] ὁμογενεῖς, p. 260, r. 1.

Mat. 11, 29.

[2] διαθέσει, p. 4, note i. Ep. ad Mon. init. Hipp. c. Noet. 7.

[3] ὅτε γεγραμμένον

[4] ἀδιαίρετος

[5] ἀνατυποῦν

17. And for this reason also the words *that they may be one in Us*, have an orthodox sense. If, for instance, it were possible for us to become as the Son in the Father, the words ought to run, "that they may be one in Thee," as the Son is in the Father; but, as it is, He has not said this; but by saying *in Us* He has pointed out the distance and difference; that He indeed is Only in the Only Father, as Only Word and Wisdom; but we in the Son, and through Him in the Father. And thus speaking, He meant this only, "By Our unity may they also be so one with each other, as We are one in nature and truth; for otherwise they could not be one, except by learning unity in Us." And that *in Us* has this signification, we may learn from Paul, who says, *These things I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos, that ye may learn in us not to be puffed up above that is written.* The words *in Us* then, are not "in the Father," as the Son is in Him; but imply an example and image, instead of saying, "Let them learn of Us." For as Paul to the Corinthians, so is the oneness of the Son and the Father a pattern[1] and lesson to all, by which they may learn, looking to that natural unity of the Father and the Son, how they themselves ought to be one in spirit towards each other. Or if it needs to account for the phrase otherwise, the words

§. 21.

1 Cor. 4, 6.

Disc. III. vid. 1 Cor. 1, 10. Ps. 60, 12; 18, 29; 44, 7.

in Us may mean the same as saying, that in the power of the Father and the Son they may be one, speaking the same things; for without God this is impossible. And this mode of speech also we may find in the divine writings, as *In God will we do great acts;* and *In God I shall leap over the wall;* and *In Thee will we tread down our enemies*[s]. Therefore it is plain, that in the Name of Father and Son we shall be able, becoming one, to hold firm the bond of charity.

18. For, dwelling still on the same thought, the Lord says, *And the glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given to them, that they may be one as We are one.* Suitably has He here too said, not, "that they may be in Thee as I am," but *as We are;* now he who says *as*[t], signifies not identity[1], but an image and example of the matter in hand. The Word then has the real and true identity of nature with the Father; but to us it is given to imitate it, as has been said; for He immediately adds, *I in them and Thou in Me; that they may be made perfect in one.* Here at length the Lord asks something greater and more perfect for us; for it is plain that in us the Word came to be[2], for He has put on our body. *And Thou Father in Me;* "for I am Thy Word, and since Thou art in Me, because I am Thy Word, and I in them because of the body, and because of Thee the salvation of men is perfected in Me, therefore I ask that they also may become one, according to the body that is in Me and according to its perfection; that they too may become perfect, having oneness with It[3]; that, as if all were carried by Me, all may be one body and one spirit, and may grow up unto a perfect man." For we all, partaking of the Same, become one body, having the one Lord in ourselves. The passage then having this meaning, still more plainly is refuted the heterodoxy[4] of Christ's enemies. I repeat it; if He had said simply and absolutely[5] "that they may be one in Thee," or "that they and I may be one in Thee," God's enemies had had some plea, though a shameless one; but in fact He has not spoken simply, but, *As Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they may be all one.*

[1] ταυτότητα §. 22.

[2] γίγονεν ἐν ἡμῖν, p. 57, r. 1.

[3] εἰς αὐτὸ

[4] ἀλλοδοξία

[5] ἀπολελυμένως, supr. p. 370, note l.

[s] vid. Olear. de Styl. N. T. p. 4. (ed. 1702.)

[t] This remark which comes in abruptly is pursued presently, vid. pp. 431, 432.

19. Moreover, using the word *as*, He signifies those who become distantly as He is in the Father; distantly not in place but in nature; for in place nothing is far from God[u], but in nature only all things are far from Him. And, as I said before, whoso uses the particle *as* implies, not identity, nor equality, but a pattern of the matter in question, viewed in a certain respect[x]. Indeed we may learn also from our Saviour Himself, when He says, *For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* For Jonas was not as the Saviour, nor did Jonas go down to hell; nor was the whale hell; nor did Jonas, when swallowed up, bring up those who had before been swallowed by the whale, but he alone came forth, when the whale was bidden. Therefore there is no identity nor equality signified in the term *as*, but one thing and another; and it shews a certain kind[y] of

CHAP. XXV.

§. 23. Matt. 12, 40.

[u] vid. p. 18, note n. which is explained by the present passage. When Ath. there says, "without all in nature," he must mean as here "far from all things in nature." He says here distinctly "in place nothing is far from God." S. Clement. loc. cit. gives the same explanation, as there noticed. It is observable that the contr. Sab. Greg. (which the Benedictines consider not Athan.'s.) speaks as Athan. supr. p. 18. "not by being co-extensive with all things, does God fill all; for this belongs to bodies, as air; but He comprehends all as a power, for He is an incorporeal, invisible power, not encircling, not encircled." 10, Eusebius says the same thing, Deum circumdat nihil, circumdat Deus omnia non corporaliter; virtute enim incorporali adest omnibus, &c. de Incorpor. i. init. ap. Sirm. Op. p. 68. vid. S. Ambros. Quomodo creatura in Deo esse potest, &c. de Fid. i. 106. and supr. p. 399. note b.

[x] vid. Glass. Phil. Sacr. iii. 5. can. 27. and Dettmars de Theol. Orig. ap. Lumper. Hist. Patr. t. 10, p. 212. Vid. also supr. p. 359, note f.

[y] ὁμοίωτικά πως. and so at the end of 22. κατά τι διαφεύμενον. "Even when the analogy is solid and well-founded, we are liable to fall into error, if we suppose it to extend farther than it really does....Thus because a just analogy has been discerned between the metropolis of a country, and the heart in the animal body, it has been sometimes contended that its increased size is a disease, that it may impede some of its most important functions, or even be the means of its dissolution." Copleston on Predestination, p. 129. Shortly before the author says, "A remarkable example of this kind is that argument of Toplady against Freewill, who, after quoting the text, 'Ye also *as* lively stones are built up a spiritual house,' triumphantly exclaims, 'This is giving Free-will a stab under the fifth rib, for can stones hew themselves, and build themselves into a regular house?'" p. 126. The principle here laid down, in accordance with S. Athan., of course *admits* of being made an excuse for denying the orthodox meaning of "Word, Wisdom, &c." under pretence that the figurative terms are not confined by the Church within their proper limits; but here the question is about the *matter of fact, which* interpretation is right, the Church's or the objector's. Thus a later writer says, "The most important words of the N. T. have not only received an indelibly false stamp from the hands of the old Schoolmen, but those words having, since the Reformation, become common property in the language of the country, are, as it were, thickly incrusted with the most vague, incorrect, and vulgar notions....Any word.... if habitually repeated in connexion with

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parallel in the case of Jonas, on account of the three days. In like manner then we too, when the Lord says *as*, neither become as the Son in the Father, nor as the Father is in the Son. For we become one as the Father and the Son in mind and agreement[1] of spirit, and the Saviour will be as Jonas in the earth; but as the Saviour is not Jonas, nor, as he was swallowed up, so did the Saviour descend into hell, but it is but a parallel[2], in like manner, if we too become one, as the Son in the Father, we shall not be as the Son, nor equal to Him; for He and we are but parallel[z]. For on this account is the word *as* applied to us; since things differing from others in nature, become as they, when viewed in a certain relation[3].

[1] συμφωνία, p. 414, note b.

[2] ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο

[3] Cyril in Joan. p. 227, &c.

20. Wherefore the Son Himself, simply and without any condition is in the Father; for this attribute He has by nature; but for us, to whom it is not natural, there is needed an image and example, that He may say of us, *As Thou in Me, and I in Thee.* "And when they shall be so perfected," He says, "then the world knows that Thou hast sent Me, for unless I had come and borne this their body, no one of them had been perfected, but one and all had remained corruptible[4]. Work Thou then in them, O Father; and as Thou hast given to Me to bear this, grant to them Thy Spirit, that they too in It may become one, and may be perfected in Me. For their perfecting shews that Thy Word has sojourned among them; and the world seeing them perfect and full of God[5], will believe altogether that Thou hast sent Me, and I have sojourned here. For whence is this their perfecting, but that I, Thy Word, having borne their body, and become man, have perfected the work, which Thou gavest Me, O Father? And the work is perfected, because men, redeemed

[4] p. 374, note t.

[5] θεοφορούμενους p. 380, note h.

certain notions, will appear to reject all other significations, as it were, by a natural power." Heresy and Orthod. pp. 21, 47. Elsewhere he speaks of words "which were used in a language now dead to represent objects....which are now supposed to express *figuratively* something spiritual and quite beyond the knowledge and comprehension of man." p. 96. Of course Ath. assumes that, *since* the figures and parallels given us in Scripture have but a partial application, *therefore* there is given us also an interpreter to apply them.

[z] Here too the writer quoted in the beginning of the foregoing note, follows S. Athanasius: "Analogy does not mean the similarity of two things, but the similarity or sameness of two relations....Things most unlike and discordant in their nature may be strictly analogous to one another. Thus a certain *proposition* may be called the *basis* of a system....it serves a similar *office* and *purpose*....the system *rests* upon it; it is *useless to proceed* with the argument till this is well established: if this were *removed*, the system must fall." On Predest. pp. 122, 3.

from sin, no longer remain dead; but being made gods[1], have in each other, by looking at Me, the bond of charity[2]." CHAP. XXV.

[1] p. 432, r. 4.

21. We then, by way of giving a rude[3] view of the expressions in this passage, have been led into many words; but blessed John in his Epistle will shew the sense of the words, concisely and much more perfectly than we can. And he will both disprove the interpretation of these irreligious men, and will teach how we become in God and God in us; and how again we become One in Him, and how far the Son differs in nature from us, and will stop the Arians from any longer thinking that they shall be as the Son, lest they hear it said to them, *Thou art a man and not God*, and, *Stretch not thyself, being poor, beside the rich.* John then thus writes; *Hereby know we that we dwell in Him and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit.* Therefore because of the grace of the Spirit which has been given to us, in Him we come to be, and He in us[4]; and since it is the Spirit of God, therefore through His becoming in us, reasonably are we, as having the Spirit, considered to be in God, and thus is God in us. Not then as the Son in the Father, so also we become in the Father; for the Son does not merely partake the Spirit, that therefore He too may be in the Father; nor does He receive the Spirit, but rather He supplies It Himself to all; and the Spirit does not unite the Word to the Father, but rather the Spirit receives from the Word[a]. And the Son is in the Father, as His proper Word and Radiance; but we, apart from the Spirit, are strange and distant from God, and by the participation of the Spirit we are knit into the Godhead; so that our being in the Father is not ours, but is the Spirit's which is in us and abides in us, while by the true confession we preserve It in us, John again saying, *Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God.*

[2] σύνδεσμον τῆς ἀγαπῆς. 21. circ. fin.

[3] ἁπλούστερον

Ez. 28, 2. Prov. 23, 4. 1 John 4, 13.

[4] p. 430, r. 2.

22. What then is our likeness and equality to the Son? rather, are not the Arians confuted on every side? and especially by John, that the Son is in the Father in one way, and we become in Him in another, and that neither we shall ever be as He, nor is the Word as we; except they shall dare, as

1 John 4, 15.

[a] vid. the end of this section and 25 init. xvi. 24. Epiph. Ancor. 67 init. Cyril supr. pp. 202, 3. also Cyril Hier. Cat. in Joan. pp. 929, 930.

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commonly, so now to say, that the Son also by participation of the Spirit and by improvement of conduct[b] became Himself also in the Father. But here again is an excess of irreligion, even in admitting the thought. For He, as has been said, gives to the Spirit, and whatever the Spirit hath, He hath from[1] the Word. The Saviour, then, saying of us, *As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they too may be one in Us*, does not signify that we were to have identity with Him; for this was shewn from the instance of Jonas; but it is a request to the Father, as John has written, that the Spirit should be vouchsafed through Him to those who believe, through whom we are found to be in God, and in this respect to be united in Him. For since the Word is in the Father, and the Spirit is given from[2] the Word, He wills that we should receive the Spirit, that, when we receive It, thus having the Spirit of the Word which is in the Father, we too may be found on account of the Spirit to become One in the Word, and through Him in the Father.

§. 25.

[1] παρά, p. 411, r. 1.

[2] ἐκ

23. And if He say, *us we*, this again is only a request that such grace of the Spirit as is given to the disciples may be without failure or revocation[3]. For what the Word has in the way of nature[4], as I said, in the Father, that He wishes to be given to us through the Spirit irrevocably; which the Apostle knowing, said, *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?* for *the gifts of God* and *grace of His calling are without repentance.* It is the Spirit then which is in God, and not we viewed in our own selves; and as we are sons and gods[5] because of the Word in us[6], so we shall be in the Son and in the Father, and we shall be accounted[7] to have become one in Son and in Father, because that that Spirit is in us, which is in the Word which is in the Father. When then a man falls from the Spirit for any wickedness, if he repent upon his fall, the grace remains irrevocably to such as are willing[8]; otherwise he who has fallen is no longer in God, (because that Holy Spirit and Paraclete which is in God has deserted him,) but the sinner shall be in him to whom he has subjected himself, as took place in Saul's instance; for the Spirit of God departed from him and an evil spirit afflicted him. God's

[3] p. 372, r. 1.

[4] κατὰ φύσιν, supr. p. 56, note k. Rom. 8, 35. vid. 11, 29.

[5] θεοί, p. 380, note h.

[6] p. 366, note c.

[7] νομισθῆναι

[8] supr. p. 234.

1 Kings 16, 14.

[b] βελτιώσει πράξεως, and so ad Afros. it is rather some external advance. πρόσων βελτίωσις. 8. Supr. pp. 234, 242.

mies hearing this ought to be henceforth abashed, and no ger to feign themselves equal to God. But they neither lerstand (for *the irreligious,* he saith, *does not understand wledge*) nor endure religious words, but find them heavy n to hear.

CHAP. XXV.

Prov. 29, 7. νοεῖ, Ath. συνῆκεν, Sept.

CHAP. XXVI.

INTRODUCTORY TO TEXTS FROM THE GOSPELS ON THE INCARNATION.

Enumeration of texts still to be explained Arians compared to the Jews. We must recur to the *Regula Fidei*. Our Lord did not come into, but became, man, and therefore had the acts and affections of the flesh. The same works divine and human. Thus the flesh was purified, and men were made immortal. Reference to 1 Pet. iv. 1.

Disc. III. §. 26.

1. For behold, as if not wearied in their words of irreligion, but with hardened Pharaoh, while they hear and see the Saviour's human attributes in the Gospels[a], they have utterly forgotten, like Samosatene, the Son's paternal Godhead[1], and with arrogant and audacious tongue they say, "How can the Son be from the Father by nature, and be like Him in substance[2], who says, *All power is given unto Me*; and *The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son*; and *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand; he that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life*; and again, *All things are delivered unto Me of My Father, and no one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him*; and again, *All that the Father hath given unto Me, shall come to Me*[3]." On this they observe, "If He was, as ye say, Son by nature, He had no need to receive, but He had by nature as a Son."

[1] παρεμπεσοῦς διάνοιαν, p. 400, note d.

[2] ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν

Mat. 28, 18. John 5, 22. John 3, 35. 36. Mat. 11, 27. John 6, 37.

[3] infr. §§. 35—41.

2. "Or how can He be the natural and true Power of the Father, who near upon the season of the passion says, *Now is My soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour; but for this came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy Name. Then came there a voice from heaven,*

John 12, 27. 28.

[a] This Oration alone, and this entirely, treats of texts from the Gospels; hitherto from the Gospel according to St. John, and now chiefly from the first three. From the subject of these portions of Scripture, it follows that the objections which remain chiefly relate to our Lord's economy for us. Hence they lead Athan. to treat more distinctly of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and to anticipate a refutation of both Nestorius and Eutyches.

saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again. And He said the same another time; *Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me;* and *When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit and testified and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me*[1]." Then these perverse[2] men argue; "If He were Power, He had not feared, but rather He had supplied power to others." CHAP. XXVI. Mat. 26, 39. John 13, 21. [1] infr. §§. 53—58. [2] *παιδ-ρεστ*

3. Further they say; "If He were by nature the true and proper Wisdom of the Father, how is it written, *And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man*[3]? In like manner, when He had come into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, He asked the disciples whom men said that He was; and when He was at Bethany He asked where Lazarus lay; and He said besides to His disciples, *How many loaves have ye*[4]? How then," say they, "is He Wisdom, who increased in wisdom, and was ignorant of what He asked of others?" Luke 2, 52. [3] infr. §§. 50—53. Mat. 16, 13. John 11, 34. Mark 6, 38. [4] infr. §. 27.

4. This too they urge; "How can He be the proper Word of the Father, without whom the Father never was, through whom He makes all things, as ye think, who said upon the Cross, *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* and before that had prayed, *Glorify Thy Name*, and, *O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.* And He used to pray in the deserts and charge His disciples to pray lest they should enter into temptation; and, *The spirit indeed is willing*, He said, *but the flesh is weak.* And, *Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, nor the Angels, neither the Son*[5]." Upon this again say the miserable men, "If the Son were, according to your interpretation[6], eternally existent with God, He had not been ignorant of the Day, but had known as Word; nor had been forsaken as being co-existent; nor had asked to receive glory, as having it in the Father; nor would have prayed at all; for, being the Word, He had needed nothing; but since He is a creature and one of things generate, therefore He thus spoke, and needed what He had not; for it is proper to creatures to require and to need what they have not." Mat. 27, 46. John 12, 28; 17, 5. Mat. 26, 41. Mark 13, 32. [5] infr. §§. 42—50. [6] *διάνοιαν*, ii. 44, a. 53, c. iv. 17, d. &c.

5. This then is what the irreligious men allege in their discourses; and if they thus argue, they might consistently speak yet more daringly; "Why in the first instance did the §. 27.

Disc. III. Word become flesh?" and they might add; "For how could He, being God, become man?" or, "How could the Immaterial bear a body?" or they might speak with Caiaphas still more Judaically, "Wherefore at all did Christ, being a man, make Himself God[1]?" for this and the like the Jews then muttered when they saw, and now the Ario-maniacs disbelieve when they read, and have fallen away into blasphemies. If then a man should carefully parallel the words of these and those, he will of a certainty find them both arriving at the same unbelief, and the daring of their irreligion equal, and their dispute with us a common one. For the Jews said; "How, being a man, can He be God?" And the Arians, "If He were very God from God, how could He become man?" And the Jews were offended then and mocked, saying, "Had He been Son of God, He had not endured the Cross;" and the Arians standing over against them, urge upon us, "How dare ye say that He is the Word proper to the Father's Substance, who had a body, so as to endure all this?" Next, while the Jews sought to kill the Lord, because He said that God was His proper Father and made Himself equal to Him, as working what the Father works, the Arians also, not only have learned to deny, both that He is equal to God and that God is the proper and natural Father of the Word, but those who hold this they seek to kill. Again, whereas the Jews said, "*Is not this the Son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how then is it that He saith, Before Abraham was, I am, and I came down from heaven?*" the Arians on the other hand make response[b] and say conformably, "How can He be Word or God who slept as man, and wept, and inquired?" Thus both parties deny the Eternity and Godhead of the Word in consequence of those human attributes which the Saviour took on Him by reason of that flesh which He bore.

[1] pp. 2. fin. 183.

John 6, 42; 8, 58.

§. 28. 6. Extravagance then like this being Judaic, and Judaic after the mind of Judas the traitor, let them openly confess themselves scholars of Caiaphas and Herod, instead of cloking Judaism with the name of Christianity, and let them deny outright, as we have said before, the Saviour's appearance in the flesh, for this doctrine is akin[2] to their heresy; or if they

[2] ἄλλων

[b] ἰσαχοῦσιν. Montfaucon (Onomasticon in t. 2 fin.) so interprets this word. vid. Apol. contr. Ar. 88. (O. T. p. 122, note k.)

fear openly to Judaize and be circumcised[1], from servility towards Constantius and for their sake whom they have beguiled, then let them not say what the Jews say; for if they disown the name, let them in fairness renounce the doctrine[2]. For we are Christians, O Arians, Christians we; our privilege is it well to know the Gospels concerning the Saviour, and neither with Jews to stone Him, if we hear of His Godhead and Eternity, nor with you to stumble at such lowly sayings as He may speak for our sakes as man. If then you would become Christians[3], put off Arius's madness, and cleanse[4] with the words of religion those ears of yours which blaspheming has defiled; knowing that, by ceasing to be Arians, you will cease also from the malevolence of the present Jews. Then at once will truth shine on you out of darkness, and ye will no longer reproach us with holding two Eternals[c], but ye will yourselves acknowledge that the Lord is God's true Son by nature, and not as merely[5] eternal[d], but revealed as co-existing in the Father's eternity. For there are things called eternal of which He is Framer; for in the twenty-third Psalm it is written, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors;* and it is plain that through Him

CHAP. XXVI.

[1] p. 235.

[2] ζήνημα

[3] Hist. Tr. O. T. p. 208, note b.

[4] p 6. r. l. c. Sab. Greg. 6 fin.

[5] ἀπλῶς

Ps. 24, 7.

[c] Vid. supr. p. 43, d. The peculiarity of the Catholic doctrine, as contrasted with the heresies on the subject of the Trinity, is that it professes a mystery. It involves, not merely a contradiction in the terms used, which would be little, for we might solve it by assigning different senses to the same word, or by adding some limitation, (e. g. if it were said that Satan was an Angel and not an Angel, or man was mortal and immortal,) but an incongruity in the ideas which it introduces. Not indeed ideas directly and wholly contradictory of each other, as "circulus quadratus," but such as are partially or indirectly antagonist, as perhaps "montes sine valle." To say that the Father is wholly and absolutely the one infinitely-simple God, and then that the Son is also, and yet that the Father is eternally distinct from the Son, is to propose ideas which we cannot harmonize together; and our reason is reconciled to this state of the case only by the consideration (though fully by means of it) that no idea of ours can embrace the simple truth, which we are obliged to separate it into portions, and view it in aspects, and adumbrate it under many ideas, if we are to make any approximation towards it at all; as in mathematics we approximate to a circle by means of a polygon, great as is the dissimilarity between the two figures.

[d] οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀΐδιος i. e. ἀΐδιος is not one of our Lord's highest titles, for things have it which the Son Himself has created, and whom of course He precedes. Instead of two ἀΐδια then, as the Arians say, there are many ἀΐδια; and our Lord's high title is not this, but that He is "the Son," and thereby *eternal in the Father's eternity*, or there was not ever when He was not, and "Image" and "Radiance." The same line of thought is implied throughout his proof of our Lord's eternity in Orat. i. ch. 4—6. pp. 195—210. This is worth remarking, as constituting a special distinction between ancient and modern Scripture proofs of the doctrine, and as coinciding with what was said supr. p. 283, note c. p. 341, note i. His mode of proof is still more clearly brought by what he proceeds to say about the σκόπος, or general bearing or drift of the Christian faith, and its availableness as a κανὼν or rule of interpretation.

Disc. III. these things were made; but if even of things everlasting He is the Framer, who of us shall be able henceforth to dispute that He is anterior to those things eternal, and in consequence is proved to be Lord not so much from His eternity, as in that He is God's Son; for being the Son, He is inseparable[1] from the Father, and never was it when He was not, but He was always; and being the Father's Image and Radiance, He has the Father's eternity.

[1] ἀχώριστος

7. Now what has been briefly said above may suffice to shew their misunderstanding of the passages they then alleged; and that of what they now allege from the Gospels they certainly give an unsound interpretation[2], we may easily see, if we now consider the drift[3] of that faith which we Christians hold, and using it as a rule[4], apply ourselves, as the Apostle teaches, to the reading of inspired Scripture. For Christ's enemies, being ignorant of this drift, have wandered from the way of truth, and have stumbled on a stone of stumbling, thinking otherwise than they should think. Now the drift and character of Holy Scripture, as we have often said, is this,—it contains a double account of the Saviour; that He was ever God, and is the Son, being the Father's Word and Radiance and Wisdom[5]; and that afterwards for us He took flesh of a Virgin, Mary Mother of God[c], and was

[2] διάνοιαν, p. 437, r. 6.

[3] σκοπὸς, vid. 58 fin.

[4] κανὼν

§. 29.

[5] vid. p. 221, note e.

[c] θεοτόκου. vid. supr. p. 420, note i. Vid. S. Cyril's quotations in his de Recta Fide, p. 49, &c. "The fleshless," says Atticus, "becomes flesh, the impalpable is handled, the perfect grows, the unalterable advances, the rich is brought forth in an inn, the coverer of heaven with clouds is swathed, the king is laid in a manger." Antiochus speaks of Him our Saviour "with whom yesterday in an immaculate bearing Mary travailed, the Mother of life, of beauty, of majesty, the Morning Star, &c." "The Maker of all," says S. Amphilochius, "is born to us to-day of a Virgin." "She did compass," says S. Chrysostom, "without circumscribing the Sun of righteousness. To-day the Everlasting is born, and becomes what He was not. He who sitteth on a high and lofty throne is placed in a manger, the impalpable, incomposite, and immaterial is wrapped around by human hands, He who snaps the bands of sin, is environed in swathing bands." And in like manner S. Cyril himself, "As a woman, though bearing the body only, is said to bring forth one who is made up of body and soul, and that will be no injury to the interests of the soul, as if it found in flesh the origin of its existence; so also in the instance of the Blessed Virgin, though she is Mother of the holy flesh, yet she bore God of God the Word, as being in truth one with It." Ado. Nest. i. p. 18. "God dwelt in the womb, yet was not circumscribed; whom the heaven containeth not, the Virgin's frame did not straiten." Procl. Hom. i. p. 60. "When thou hearest that God speaks from the bush, and says to Moses, 'I am the God, &c.' and that Moses falling on his face worships, believest thou, not considering the fire that is seen but God that speaks; yet, when I mention the Virgin Womb, dost thou abominate and turn away? ....In the bush seest thou not the Virgin, in the fire the loving-kindness of Him who came? &c." Theodot. ap. Conc. Eph. (p. 1529. Labbe.) "Not

made man. And this scope is to be found throughout inspired Scripture, as the Lord Himself has said, *Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of Me.* But lest I should exceed in writing, by bringing together all the passages on the subject, let it suffice to mention as a specimen, first John saying, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made not one thing;* next, *And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father;* and next Paul writing, *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion like a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.* Any one, beginning with these passages and going through the whole of Scripture upon

CHAP. XXVI. John 5, 39. John 1, 1—3. v. 14. Phil. 2, 6—8.

only did Mary bear her Elder," says Cassian in answer to an objector, "but her Author, and giving birth to Him from whom she received it, she became parent of her Parent. Surely it is as easy for God to give nativity to Himself, as to man; to be born of man as to make men born. For God's power is not circumscribed in His own Person, that He should not do in Himself what He can do in all." Incarn. iv. 2. "The One God Only-begotten, of an ineffable origin from God, is introduced into the womb of the Holy Virgin, and grows into the form of a human body. He who contrives all, ..is brought forth according to the law of a human birth; He at whose voice Archangels tremble..and the world's elements are dissolved, is heard in the wailing of an infant, &c." Hil. Trin. ii. 25. "'My beloved is white and ruddy;' white truly, because the Brightness of the Father, ruddy, because the Birth of a Virgin. In Him shines and glows the colour of each nature;..He did not begin from a Virgin, but the Everlasting came into a Virgin." Ambros. Virgin. i. n. 47. "Him, who, coming in His simple Godhead, not heaven, not earth, not sea, not any creature had endured, Him the inviolate womb of a Virgin carried." Chrysost. ap. Cassian. Incarn. vii. 30. "Happily do some understand by the 'closed gate,' by which only 'the Lord God of Israel enters,' that Prince on whom the gate is closed, to be the Virgin Mary, who both before and after her bearing remained a Virgin." Jerom. in Ezek. 44 init. "Let them tell us," says Capreolus of Carthage, "how is that Man from heaven, if He be not God conceived in the womb?" ap. Sirm. Opp. t. i. p. 216. "He is made in thee," says S. Austin, "who made thee,..nay, through whom heaven and earth is made;..the Word of God in thee is made flesh, receiving flesh, not losing Godhead. And the Word is joined, is coupled to the flesh, and of this so high wedding thy womb is the nuptial chamber, &c." Serm. 291, 6. "Say, O blessed Mary," says S. Hippolytus, "what was It which by thee was conceived in the womb, what carried by thee in that virgin frame? It was the Word of God, &c." ap. Theod. Eran. i. p. 55. "We have also as a physician," says S. Ignatius, "our Lord God Jesus the Christ, who before the world was Only-begotten Son and Word, and afterwards was man also from Mary the Virgin, the Incorporeal in a body, the Impassible, &c." Ep. and Eph. 7.

Disc. III. the interpretation[1] which they suggest, will perceive how in the beginning the Father said to Him, *Let there be light,* and *Let there be a firmament*[2], and *Let us make man;* but in fulness of the ages, He sent Him into the world, not that He might judge the world, but that the world by Him might be saved, and how it is written, *Behold, a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call His Name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us.*

[1] διανοίᾳ, vid. p. 437, r. Gen. 1, 3. 6. 26.

[2] supr. p. 120, note p. Matt. 1, 23.

§. 30. The reader then of divine Scripture may acquaint himself with these passages from the older books; and from the Gospels on the other hand he will perceive that the Lord became man; for *the Word,* he says, *became flesh, and dwelt among us.*

John 1, 14.

8. And He became man, and did not come into man; for this it is necessary to know, lest perchance these irreligious men, fall into this notion also, and beguile any into thinking, that, as in former times the Word was used to come into each of the Saints, so now He sojourned[3] in a man, hallowing him also, and manifesting[4] Himself as in the others. For if it were so, and He only appeared in a man, it were nothing strange, nor had those who saw Him been startled, saying, Whence is He? and wherefore dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God? for they were familiar with the idea, from the words, *And the Word of the Lord came* to the Prophets[5] one by one. But now, since the Word of God, by whom all things came to be, endured to become also Son of man, and humbled Himself, taking a servant's form, therefore to the Jews the Cross of Christ is a scandal, but to us Christ is *God's power* and *God's wisdom;* for *the Word,* as John says, *became flesh;* (it being the custom[6] of Scripture to call man by the name of *flesh,* as it says by Joel the Prophet, *I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh;* and as Daniel said to Astyages, *I may not worship idols made with hands, but the Living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh;* for both he and Joel call mankind flesh.) Of old time He was wont to come to the Saints individually, and to hallow those who rightly[7] received Him; but neither, on their birth, was it said that He had become man, nor, when they suffered, was it said that He Himself suffered. But when He came[8] among us from Mary once in fulness of the ages for the abolition of sin, (for so it was pleasing to the Father,

[3] ἐνοδήμησεν

[4] φανερού-μενος, p. 443, note g.

[5] ad Epict. 11.11.ad Max. 2.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

[6] infr. iv. 33 init. Joel 2, 28. Bel and Dr. 5.

§. 31.

[7] γνησίως; supr. p. 236, note c.

to send His own Son *made of a woman, made under the Law*,) then it is said, that He took flesh and became man, and in that flesh He suffered for us, (as Peter says, *Christ therefore having suffered for us in the flesh*,) that it might be shewn, and that all might believe, that whereas He was ever God, and hallowed those to whom He came, and ordered all things according to the Father's will[f], afterwards for our sakes He became man, and *bodily*, as the Apostle says, the Godhead dwelt in the flesh; as much as to say, "Being God, He had His own body, and using this as an instrument[g], He became man for our sakes." CHAP. XXVI. Gal. 4, 4. 1 Pet. 4, 1. Col. 2, 9.

9. And on account of this, the properties of the flesh, are said to be His, since He was in it, such as to hunger, to thirst, to suffer, to weary, and the like, of which the flesh is capable; while on the other hand the works proper to the Word Himself, such as to raise the dead, to restore sight to the blind, and to cure the woman with an issue of blood, He did through His own body[h]. And the Word bore the

[f] *κατὰ τὸ βούλημα.* vid. Orat. i. 63. infr. p. 490, notes m and n. "When God commands others, then the hearer answers, for each of these has the Mediator Word which makes known the will of the Father; but when the Word Himself works and creates, there is no questioning and answer, for the Father is in Him, and the Word in the Father; but it suffices to will, and the work is done." supr. p. 324. where vid. note b. for passages in which Ps. 33, 9. is taken to shew the unity of Father and Son from the instantaneousness of the accomplishment upon the willing, as well as the Son's existence before creation. Hence the Son not only works *κατὰ τὸ βούλημα*, but is the *βουλὴ* of the Father. ibid. note c. For the contrary Arian view, even when it is highest, vid. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. 3. quoted supr. p. 373, note s. In that passage the Father's *νεύματα* are spoken of, a word common with the Arians. Euseb. ibid. p. 75, a. de Laud. Const. p. 528, c. Eunom. Apol. 20 fin. The word is used of the Son's command given to the creation, in Athan. contr. Gent. e. g. 42, 44, 46. S. Cyril. Hier. frequently as the Arians, uses it of the Father. Catech. x. 5. xi. passim. xv. 25, &c. The difference between the orthodox and Arian views on this point, is clearly drawn out by S. Basil contr. Eunom. i. 21.

[g] *τούτῳ χρώμενος ὀργάνῳ* infr. 42. and *ὄργανον πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἴλαμψιν τῆς θεότητος.* 53. This was a word much used afterwards by the Apollinarians, who looked on our Lord's manhood as merely a *manifestation* of God. vid. p. 291, note k. vid. *σχῆμα ὀργανικὸν* in Apoll. i. 2, 15. vid. a parallel in Euseb. laud. Const. p. 536. However, it is used freely by Athan. e. g. infr. 35, 53. Incarn. 8, 9, 43, 44. And he mentions *πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ γνῶσιν*, 41 fin. but he also insists upon its being not merely for manifestation, else our Lord might have come in a higher nature. ibid. 8. vid. also 44. This use of *ὄργανον* must not be confused with its heretical application to our Lord's Divine Nature, vid. Basil de Sp. S. n. 19 fin. of which supr. p. 118, note n. It may be added that *φανέρωσις* is a Nestorian as well as Eutychian idea; vid. p. 442, r. 4. Facund. Tr. Cap. ix. 2, 3. and the Syrian use of *parsopa* Asseman. B. O. t. 4. p. 219. Thus both parties really denied the Atonement. vid. supr. p. 267, note l. p. 292, note m.

[h] Orat. iv. 6. and fragm. ex Euthym. p. 1275. ed. Ben. This interchange is called theologically the *ἀντίδοσις* or communicatio *ἰδιωμάτων*. "Because of the perfect union of the flesh which was assumed, and of the Godhead which assumed it, the names are interchanged,

Disc. III. infirmities of the flesh, as His own, for His was the flesh; and the flesh ministered[1] to the works of the Godhead, because the Godhead was in it, for the body was God's[1]. And well Is. 53, 4. has the Prophet said *carried;* and has not said, "He remedied[2] our infirmities, lest, as being external to the body, and only healing it, as He has always done, He should leave men subject still to death; but He carries our infirmities, and He Himself bears our sins, that it might be shewn that He became man for us, and that the body which in Him bore them, was His proper body; and, while He received no hurt[4] Himself by *bearing our sins in His body on the tree,* as Peter speaks, we men were redeemed from our own affections[3], and §. 32. were filled with the righteousness[4] of the Word. Whence it was

[1] ὑπουργῶ

[2] ἰᾶται

[3] παθῶν, vid. p. 446, r. 5.

[4] supr. p. 254. 1 Pet. 2, 24.

so that the human is called from the divine and the divine from the human. Wherefore He who was crucified is called by Paul Lord of glory, and He who is worshipped by all creation of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth is named Jesus, &c." Nyssen. in Apoll. t. 2. pp. 697, 8. Leon. Ep. 28, 51. Ambros. de fid. ii. 58. Nyssen. de Beat. p. 767. Cassian. Incarn. vi. 22. Aug. contr. Serm. Ar. c. 8 init. Plain and easy as such statements seem in this and some following notes, they are of the utmost importance in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies.

[1] θεοῦ ἦν σῶμα. also ad Adelph. 3. ad Max. 2. and so τὴν προσχύσασαν φύσιν θεοῦ ὕλην γινομένην. c. Apoll. ii. 11. τὸ πάθος τοῦ λόγου ibid. 16, c. σὰρξ τοῦ λόγου. infr. 34. σῶμα σοφίας infr. 53. also supr. p. 296, r. 1. πάθος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Ignat. Rom. 6. ὁ θεός πάσχοντα. Melit. ap. Anast. Hodeg. 12. Dei passiones. Tertull. de Carn. Christ. 5. Dei interemptores. ibid. caro Deitatis. Leon. Serm. 65 fin. Deus mortuus et sepultus. Vigil. c. Eut. ii. p. 502. vid. supr. p. 244, note l. Yet Athan. objects to the phrase, "God suffered in the flesh," i. e. as used by the Apollinarians. vid. contr. Apoll. ii. 13 fin.

[4] οὐδὲν ἐβλάπτετο. "For He was not shut up in the body, nor was He in such sort in the body, as not to be elsewhere, &c." Incarn. 17. Also ἐβλάπτετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς οὐδέν. &c. ibid. 4. μὴ βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐξαφανίζων. infr. 34, b. "For the Sun too which He made and we see, makes its circuit in the sky, and is not defiled by touching, &c." de Incarn. 17. "As the rays of sun-light would not suffer at all, though filling all things and touching bodies dead and unclean, thus and much more the spiritual virtue of God the Word would suffer nothing in substance nor receive hurt, &c." Euseb. de Laud. Const. p. 536. and 538. also Dem. Evang. vii. p. 348. "The injuries of the passion even the Godhead bore, but the passion His flesh alone felt; as we rightly say that a sunbeam or a body of flame can be cut indeed by a sword but not divided. I will speak yet more plainly; the Godhead [divinitatis, qu. tas] was fixed with nails, but could not Itself be pierced, since the flesh was exposed and offered room for the wound, but God remained invisible, &c." Vigil. contr. Eutych. ii. p. 503. (B. P. ed. 1624.) "There were five together on the Cross, when Christ was nailed to it; the sun-light, which first received the nails and the spear, and remained undivided from the Cross and unhurt by the nails, next, &c." Anast. Hodeg. c. 12. p. 220. (ed. 1606.) also p. 222. Vid. also the beautiful passage in Pseudo-Basil: "God in flesh, not working with aught intervening as in the prophets, but having taken to Him a manhood connatural with Himself (συμφυῆ, i. e. joined to His nature) and made one, and through His flesh akin to us drawing up to Him all humanity. .... What was the manner of the Godhead in flesh? as fire in iron, not transitively, but by communication. For the fire does not dart into the iron, but remains there and communicates to it of its own virtue, not impaired by the communication, yet filling wholly its recipient, &c." Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen. (t. 2. p. 596. ed Ben.) also Ruffin in Symb. 12. Cyril. Quod unus est Christus. p. 776. Damasc. F. O. iii. 6 fin. August. Serm. 7. p. 26 init. ed. 1842. Suppl. 1.

that, when the flesh suffered, the Word was not external to it; and therefore is the passion said to be His: and when He did divinely His Father's works, the flesh was not external to Him, but in the body itself did[1] the Lord do them[1]. Hence, when made man, He said, *If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know that the Father is in Me and I in Him.* CHAP. XXVI.

[1] πάλιν ἴσως John 10, 37, 28. vid. Incarn. 18.

10. And thus when there was need to raise Peter's wife's mother who was sick of a fever, He stretched forth His hand humanly, but He stopped the illness divinely. And in the case of the man blind from the birth, human was the spittle which He gave forth from the flesh, but divinely did He open the eyes through the clay. And in the case of Lazarus, He gave forth a human voice, as man; but divinely, as God, did He raise Lazarus from the dead[m]. These things were so done, were so manifested, because He had a body, not in appearance, but in truth[n]; and it became the Lord, in putting

[1] "Two natures," says S. Leo, "met together in our Redeemer, and, while the proprieties of each remained, so great a unity was made of either substance, that from the time that the Word was made flesh in the Blessed Virgin's womb, we may neither think of Him as God without this which is man, nor as man without This which is God. Each nature certifies its own reality under distinct actions, but neither disjoins itself from connexion with the other. Nothing is wanting from either towards other; there is entire littleness in majesty, entire majesty in littleness; unity does not introduce confusion, nor does propriety divide unity. There is one thing passible, another inviolable, yet His is the contumely whose is the glory. He is in infirmity who is in power; the Same is both capable and conqueror of death. God then did take on Him whole man, and so knit Himself into him and him into Himself in pity and in power, that either nature was in other, and neither in the other lost its own propriety." Serm. 54, 2. "Suscepit nos in suam proprietatem illa natura, quæ nec nostris sua, nec suis nostra consumeret, &c." Serm. 72. p. 286. vid. also Ep. 165, 6. Serm. 30, 5. Cyril. Cat. iv. 9. Amphiloch. ap. Theod. Eran. i. p. 66. also pp. 30, 87, 8. ed. 1644.

[m] "The birth of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature, the bearing of the Virgin a token of divine power. The infancy of a little one is shewn in the lowliness of the cradle, the greatness of the Highest is proclaimed by the voices of Angels. He has the rudiments of men whom Herod impiously plots to kill, He is the Lord of all whom the Magi delight suppliantly to adore, &c. &c. To hunger, thirst, weary, and sleep are evidently human; but to satisfy five thousand on five loaves, and to give the Samaritan living water....to walk on the sea and the feet not to sink, and to lay the tossing waves with a rebuke, is unambiguously divine." Leo's Tome (Ep. 28.) 4. "When He touched the leper, it was the man that was seen; but something beyond man, when He cleansed him, &c." Ambros. Epist. i. 46, n. 7. Hil. Trin. x. 23 fin. vid. infr. 56 note, and S. Leo's extracts in his Ep. 165. Chrysol. Serm. 34 and 35. Paul. ap. Conc. Eph. (p. 1620. Labbe.) These are instances of what is theologically called the διανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια, i. e. the union of the energies of both Natures in one act.

[n] μὴ φαντασίᾳ ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς. vid. Incarn. 18, d. ad Epict. 7, c. The passage is quoted by S. Cyril. Apol. adv. Orient. p. 194.

Disc. III. on human flesh, to put it on whole with the affections proper to it; that, as we say that the body was proper to Him, so also we may say that the affections of the body were only proper to Him, though they did not touch Him according to His Godhead. If then the body had been another's, to him too had been the affections attributed; but if the flesh is the Word's, (for *the Word became flesh*,) of necessity then the affections also of the flesh are ascribed to Him, whose the flesh is. And to whom the affections[1] are ascribed, such namely as to be condemned, to be scourged, to thirst, and the cross, and death, and the other infirmities of the body, of Him too is the triumph[2] and the grace. For this cause then, consistently and fittingly such affections are ascribed not to another[o], but to the Lord; that the grace also may be from Him[p], and that we may become, not worshippers of any other, but truly devout towards God, because we pray[3] to no creature, no ordinary[q] man, but the natural and true Son from God, who has become man, yet is not the less Lord and God and Saviour.

[1] παθη, sufferings

[2] χαρίσμα

[3] ἀσεβολογούμεθα

§. 33. 11. Who will not admire this? or who will not agree that such a thing is truly divine? for if the works of the Word's Godhead had not taken place through the body, man had not been made god[4]; and again, had not the properties of the flesh been ascribed to the Word, man had not been thoroughly delivered from them[5]; but though they had ceased for a little while, as I said before, still sin had remained in him and corruption, as was the case with mankind before Him; and for this reason:—Many for instance have been made holy and clean from all sin; nay, Jeremias was hallowed[r] even from

[4] ἐθεοποιήθη

[5] p. 254, note k. p. 360, note g. p. 378, note e. p. 447, note u.

[o] οὐκ ἄλλου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κυρίου· and so οὐκ ἐτέρου τινός, Incarn. 18; also Orat. i. 45. supr. p. 244. and Orat. iv. 35. Cyril. Thes. p. 197. and Anathem. 11. who defends the phrase against the Orientals.

[p] "If any happen to be scandalized by the swathing bands, and His lying in a manger, and the gradual increase according to the flesh, and the sleeping in a vessel, and the wearying in journeying, and the hungering in due time, and whatever else happen to one who has become really man, let them know that, making a mock of the sufferings, they are denying the nature; and denying the nature, they do not believe in the economy; and not believing in the economy, they forfeit the salvation." Procl. ad Armen. p. 615. ed. 1630.

[q] κοινόν. opposed to ἴδιον. vid. infr. p. 472, r. 6. Cyril. Epp. p. 23, e. communem, Ambros. de Fid. i. 94.

[r] vid. Jer. i. 5. And so S. Jerome, S. Leo, &c. as mentioned in Corn. à Lap. in loc. who adds that S. Ephrem considers Moses also sanctified in the womb, and S. Ambrose Jacob; S. Jerome implies a similar gift in the case of Asella, ad Marcell. (Ep. 24, 2.) And so S. John Baptist, Maldon. in Luc.

the womb, and John, while yet in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary Mother of God[t]; nevertheless *death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression;* and thus man remained mortal and corruptible as before, liable to the affections proper to their nature. But now the Word having become man and having appropriated[u] the affections of the flesh, no longer do these affections touch the body, because of the Word who has come in it, but they are destroyed[v] by Him, and henceforth men no longer remain sinners and dead according to their proper affections, but having risen according to the Word's power, they abide[1] ever immortal and incorruptible. Whence also, whereas the flesh is born[2] of Mary Mother of God[x], He Himself is said to have been born, who furnishes to others a generation[3] of being; in order that He may transfer our generation into Himself, and we may no longer, as mere earth, return to earth, but as being knit into the Word from heaven, may be carried to heaven by Him. Therefore in like manner not without reason has He

CHAP. XXVI. Rom. 5, 14.

[1] διαμένειν, p. 380, r. l. p. 449, note a.

[2] γεννωμένης

[3] γένεσιν, vid. supr. ii. 52, b. p. 261, note e.

1, 16. It is remarkable that no ancient writer, (unless indeed we except S. Austin,) refers to the instance of S. Mary;—perhaps from the circumstance of its not being mentioned in Scripture.

[s] θεοτόκον. For instances of this word vid. Origen. ap. Socr. vii. 32. Euseb. V. Const. iii. 43. in Psalm p. 703. Alexandr. Ep. ad Alex. ap. Theodor. Hist. i. 3. p. 745. Athan. (supra) Cyril. Cat. x. 19. Julian Imper. ap. Cyril. c. Jul. viii. p. 262. Amphiloch. Orat. 4. p. 41. (if Amphil.) ed. 1644. Nyssen. Ep. ad Eustath. p. 1093. Chrysost. apud Suicer Symb. p. 240. Greg. Naz. Orat. 29, 4. Ep. 181. p. 85. ed. Ben. Antiochus and Ammon. ap. Cyril. de Rectâ Fid. pp. 49, 50. Pseudo-Dion. contr. Samos. 5. Pseudo-Basil. Hom. t. 2. p. 600. ed. Ben.

[t] θεοτοκουμένου. vid. also infr. p. 455, r. 6. ad Epict. 6, e. fragm. ex Euthym. (t. i. p. 1275. ed. Ben.) Cyril. in Joann. p. 151, a. For ἵνα, which occurs so frequently here, vid. Cyril. Anathem. 11. And εἰκείως, contr. Apoll. ii. 16, e. Cyril. Schol. de Incarn. p. 782, d. Concil. Eph. pp. 1644, d. 1697, b. (Hard.) Damasc. F. O. iii. 3. p. 208. ed. Ven. Vid. Petav. de Incarn. iv. 15.

[u] vid. pp. 245, 247, &c. p. 374, note t. Vid. also iv. 33. Incarn. c. Arian. 12. contr. Apoll. i. 17. ii. 6. "Since God the Word willed to annul the passions, whose end is death, and His deathless nature was not capable of them,.. He is made flesh of the Virgin, in the way He knoweth, &c." Procl. ad Armen. p. 616. also Leon. Serm. 22. pp. 69. 71. Serm. 26. p. 88. Nyssen contr. Apoll. t. 2. p. 696. Cyril. Epp. p. 138, 9. in Joan. p. 95. Chrysol. Serm. 148.

[x] θεοτόκον. supr. p. 420, note i. p. 440, note e. and just above, note s. For "mater Dei" vid. before S. Leo, Ambros. de Virg. ii. 7. Cassian. Incarn. ii. 5. vii. 25. Vincent. Lir. Commonit. 21. It is obvious that θεοτόκος, though framed as a test against Nestorians, was equally effective against Apollinarians and Eutychians, who denied that our Lord had taken human flesh at all, as is observed by Facundus Def. Trium Cap. i. 4. And so S. Cyril, "Let it be carefully observed, that nearly this whole contest about the faith has been created against us for our maintaining that the Holy Virgin is Mother of God; now, if we hold," as was the calumny, "that the Holy Body of Christ our common Saviour was from heaven, and not born of her, how can she be considered as Mother of God?" Epp. pp. 106, 7. Yet these sects, as the Arians, maintained the term. vid. supr. p. 292, note n.

Disc. III. transferred to Himself the other affections of the body also; that we, no longer as being men, but as proper to the Word, may have share in eternal life. For no longer according to that former generation in Adam do we die; but henceforward our generation and all infirmity of flesh being transferred to the Word, we rise from the earth, the curse from sin being re-
[1] p. 366, note c. moved, because of Him who is in us[1] and who has become a curse for us. And with reason; for as we are all from earth and die in Adam, so being regenerated from above of water and Spirit, in the Christ we are all quickened; the flesh being no longer earthly, but being henceforth made the Word[y], by reason of God's Word who for our sake *became flesh*.

§. 34. 12. And that one may attain to a more exact knowledge of the impassibility of the Word's nature and of the infirmities ascribed to Him because of the flesh, it will be well to listen to the blessed Peter; for he will be a trustworthy witness concerning the Saviour. He writes then in his Epistle thus;
1 Pet. 4, 1. *Christ then having suffered for us in the flesh.* Therefore also when He is said to hunger and thirst and to toil and not to know, and to sleep, and to weep, and to ask, and to flee, and to be born, and to deprecate the cup, and in a word to undergo all that belongs to the flesh[z], let it be said, as is congruous, in each case, "Christ then hungering and thirsting *for us in the flesh*;" and "saying He did not know, and being buffeted, and toiling *for us in the flesh*;" and "being exalted too, and born, and growing *in the flesh*;" and "fearing
Mat. 26, 39. and hiding *in the flesh*;" and "saying, *If it be possible let this cup pass from Me*, and being beaten, and receiving, *for us in the flesh*;" and in a word all such things *for us in the flesh*. For on this account has the Apostle himself said,

[y] λογωθέισης τῆς σαρκός. This strong term is here applied to human nature generally; Damascene speaks of the λόγωσις of the flesh, but he means especially our Lord's flesh. F. O. iv. 18. p. 286. (Ed. Ven.) for the words διεῦθαι, &c. vid. supr. p. 380, note h.

[z] "All this belongs to the Economy, not to the Godhead. On this account He says, 'Now is My soul troubled,'... so troubled as to seek for a release, if escape were possible.... As to hunger is no blame, nor to sleep, so is it none to desire the present life. Christ had *a body pure from sins*, but not exempt from physical necessities, else it had not been a body." Chrysost. in Joann. Hom. 67. 1 and 2. "He used His own flesh as an instrument for the works of the flesh and physical infirmities and whatever such is blameless, &c." Cyril. de Rect. Fid. p. 18. "As a man He doubts, as a man He is troubled; it is not His Power (virtus) that is troubled, not His Godhead, but His soul, &c." Ambros. de Fid. ii. n. 56. vid. a beautiful passage in S. Basil's Hom. iv. 5. in which he insists on our Lord's having wept to shew us how to weep neither too much nor too little.

Christ then having suffered, not in His Godhead, but *for us in the flesh*, that these affections may be acknowledged as, not proper to the very Word by nature, but proper by nature to the very flesh. CHAP. XXVI.

13. Let no one then stumble at these human affections, but rather let a man know that in nature the Word Himself is impassible, and yet because of that flesh which He put on, these things are ascribed to Him, since they are proper to the flesh, and the body itself is proper to the Saviour. And while He Himself, being impassible in nature, remains as He is, not harmed[1] by these affections, but rather obliterating and destroying them, men, their passions as if changed and abolished[2] in the Impassible, henceforth become themselves also impassible and free[a] from them for ever, as John teaches when he says, *And ye know that He was manifested to take away our sins, and in Him is no sin.* And this being so, no heretic shall object, "Wherefore rises the flesh, being by nature mortal? and if it rises, why not hunger too and thirst, and suffer, and remain mortal? for it came from the earth, and how can its natural condition pass from it?" since the flesh is able now to make answer to this so contentious heretic, "I am from earth, being by nature mortal, but afterwards I became the Word's flesh, and He *carried* my affections, though He is without them[3]; and so I became free from them, being no more abandoned to their service because of the Lord who has made me free from them. For if thou objectest that I am rid of that corruption which is by nature, see that thou objectest not that God's Word took my form of servitude; for as the Lord, putting on the body, became man, so we men are made gods[4] by the Word as being taken to Him through His flesh, and henceforward inherit life everlasting."

[1] βλαπτό-μενος, p. 444, note k.

[2] p. 447, note u.

1 John 3, 5.

[3] ἀνατίς

[4] θεοποιού-μεθα

[a] vid. p. 360, note g. "As since the flesh has become the all-quickening Word's, it overbears the might of corruption and death, so, I think, since the soul became His who knew not error, it has an unchangeable condition for all good things established in it, and far more vigorous than the sin that of old time tyrannized over us. For, first and only of men on the earth, Christ did no sin, nor was guile found in His mouth; and He is laid down as a root and firstfruit of those who are refashioned unto newness of life in the Spirit, and unto immortality of body, and He will transmit to the whole human race the firm security of the Godhead, as by participation and by grace." Cyril. de Rect. Fid. p. 18.

Disc. III. §. 35. [1] ἐργάνου, p. 443, note g.

14. These points we have found it necessary first to examine, that, when we see Him doing or saying aught divinely through the instrument[1] of His own body, we may know that He so works, being God, and also, if we see Him speaking or suffering humanly, we may not be ignorant that He bore flesh and became man, and hence He so acts and so speaks. For if we recognise what is proper to each, and see and understand that both these things and those are done by One[b], we are right[2] in our faith, and shall never stray. But if a man looking at what is done divinely by the Word, deny the body, or looking at what is proper to the body, deny the Word's presence in the flesh, or from what is human entertain low thoughts concerning the Word, such a one, as a Jewish vintner[3], mixing water with the wine[4], shall account the cross an offence, or as a Gentile, will deem the preaching folly. This then is what happens to God's enemies the Arians; for looking at what is human in the Saviour, they have judged Him a creature. Therefore they ought, looking also at the divine works of the Word, to deny[c] the generation of His body[5], and henceforth to rank themselves with Manichees[6]. But for them learn they, however tardily, that *the Word became flesh;* and let us, retaining the general scope[7] of the faith, acknowledge that what they interpret ill, has a right interpretation[8].

[2] ἐξὸν

[3] vid. Is. 1, 22. Sept. 2 Cor. 2, 17.

[4] p. 17, r. 2. p. 394, r. 5.

[5] γένεσιν

[6] pp. 130, 189. infr. iv. 23. c. Facund. Tr. C. ix. 1 init. 3 fin.

[7] σκοπὸν, supr. p. 440.

[8] p. 442, r. 1.

[b] vid. infr. 39—41. and p. 479, note b. "Being God, and existing as Word, while He remained what He was, He became flesh, and a child, and a man, no change profaning the mystery. The Same both works wonders and suffers, by the miracles signifying that He is what He was, and by the sufferings giving proof that He had become what He had framed." Procl. ad Armen. p. 615. "Without loss then to the propriety of either nature and substance," (salvâ proprietate, and so Tertullian, Salva est utriusque proprietas substantiæ, &c. in Prax. 27.) "yet with their union in one Person, Majesty takes on it littleness, Power infirmity, Eternity mortality, and, to pay the debt of our estate, an inviolable Nature is made one with a nature that is passible; that, as was befitting for our cure, One and the Same Mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ, might both be capable of death from the one, and incapable from the other." Leo's Tome (Ep. 28, 3.) also Hil. Trin. ix. 11 fin. "Vagit infans, sed in cœlo est, &c." ibid. x. 54. Ambros. de Fid. ii. 77. Erat vermis in cruce sed dimittebat peccata. Non habebat speciem, sed plenitudinem divinitatis, &c. Id. Epist. i. 46, n. 5. Theoph. Ep. Pasch. 6. ap. Conc. Ephes. p. 1404. Hard.

[c] Thus heresies are *partial* views of the truth, starting from some truth which they exaggerate, and disowning and protesting against other truth, which they fancy inconsistent with it. vid. supr. p. 219, note b.

CHAP. XXVII.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; TENTHLY, MATTHEW xxviii. 18. JOHN iii. 35. &c.

These texts intended to preclude the Sabellian notion of the Son; they fall in with the Catholic doctrine concerning the Son; they are explained by "so" in John 5, 26. (Anticipation of the next chapter.) Again they are used with reference to our Lord's human nature; for our sake, that we might receive and not lose, as receiving in Him. And consistently with other parts of Scripture, which shew that He had the power, &c. before He received it. He was God and man, and His actions are often at once divine and human.

1. FOR, *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand;* and, *All things are given unto Me of My Father;* and, *I can do nothing of Myself, but as I hear, I judge;* and the like passages, do not shew that the Son once had not these prerogatives,—(for had not He eternally what the Father has, who is the Only Word and Wisdom of the Father in substance, who also says, *All that the Father hath are Mine*, and what are Mine, are the Father's? for if the things of the Father are the Son's and the Father hath them ever, it is plain that what the Son hath, being the Father's, were ever in the Son,)—not then because once He had them not, did He say this, but because, whereas the Son hath eternally what He hath, yet He hath them from the Father. For lest a man, perceiving that the Son has all that the Father hath, from the unvarying likeness[1] and identity of that He hath, should wander into the irreligion of Sabellius, considering Him to be the Father[2], therefore He has said *Is given unto Me*, and *I have received*, and *Are delivered to Me*, only to shew that He is not the Father, but the Father's Word, and the Eternal Son, who because of His likeness to the Father, hath eternally what He hath from Him, and because He is the Son, hath from the Father what eternally He hath.

John 3, 35. Matt. 11, 27. John 5, 30. John 26, 15; 17, 10.

§. 36.

[1] ἀπαραλλάκτου

[2] note on iv. 13. Matt. 28, 18. John 10, 18.

Disc. III.

2. Moreover that *Is given* and *Are delivered*, and the like, do not impair[1] the Godhead of the Son, but rather shew Him to be truly[2] Son, we may learn from the passages themselves. For if all things are delivered unto Him, first, He is other than that all which He has received; next, being Heir of all things, He alone is the Son and proper according to the Substance of the Father. For if He were one of all, then He were not *heir of all*, but every one had received according as the Father willed and gave. But now, as receiving all things, He is other than them all, and alone proper to the Father.

[1] ἰλαττοῖ, p. 244, r. 1.

[2] p. 307, note d.

Heb. 1, 2.

3. Moreover that *Is given* and *Are delivered* do not shew that once He had them not, we may conclude from a similar passage, and in like manner concerning them all; for the Saviour Himself says, *As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself.* Now from the words *Hath given*, He signifies that He is not the Father; but in saying *so*, He shews the Son's natural likeness and propriety towards the Father. If then once the Father had not, plainly the Son once had not; for as the Father, *so* also the Son has. But if this is irreligious to say, and religious on the contrary to say that the Father had ever, is it not extravagant in them when the Son says that, *as* the Father has, *so* also the Son has, to say that He has not *so*[3], but otherwise? Rather then is the Word faithful, and all things which He says that He has received, He has always, yet has from the Father; and the Father indeed not from any, but the Son from the Father. For as in the instance of the radiance, if the radiance itself should say, "All places the light hath given me to enlighten, and I do not enlighten from myself, but as the light wills," yet, in saying this, it does not imply that it once had not, but it means, "I am proper to the light, and all things of the light are mine;" so, and much more, must we understand in the instance of the Son. For the Father, having given all things to the Son, in the Son still[a] hath all things; and the Son having,

John 5, 26.

[3] p. 359, note f.

[a] πάλιν. vid. p. 203, note d. Thus iteration is not duplication in respect to God; though *how* this is, is the inscrutable Mystery of the Trinity in Unity. Nothing can be named which the Son is in Himself, as distinct from the Father; we are but told His *relation* towards the Father, and thus the sole meaning we are able to attach to Person is a relation of the Son towards

still the Father hath them; for the Son's Godhead is the Father's Godhead, and thus the Father in the Son takes the oversight[1] of all things.

[1] *προόνσιαν* p. 416, note f. p. 422, note l.

the Father; and distinct from and beyond that relation, He is but the One God, who is also the Father. This sacred subject has been touched upon supr. p. 412, note d. In other words, there is an indestructible essential relation existing in the One Indivisible infinitely simple God, such as to constitute Him, viewed on each side of that relation, (what in human language we call) Two, (and in like manner Three) yet without the notion of number really coming in. When we speak of "Person," we mean nothing more than the One God in substance, viewed relatively to Him the One God, as viewed in that Correlative which we therefore call another Person. These various statements are not here intended to explain, but to bring home to the mind *what* it is which faith receives. We say "Father, Son, and Spirit," but when we would abstract a general idea of Them in order to number Them, our abstraction really does but carry us back to the One Substance. There will be different ways of expressing this, but such seems the meaning of such passages as the following. "Those who taunt us with tritheism, must be told that we confess One God not in number, but in nature. For what is one in number is not really one, nor single in nature; for instance, we call the world one in number, but not one in nature, for we divide it into its elements; and man again is one in number, but compounded of body and soul. If then we say that God is in nature one, how do they impute number to us, who altogether banish it from that blessed and spiritual nature? For number belongs to quantity, and number is connected with matter, &c." Basil. Ep. 8, 2. "That which saveth us, is faith, but number has been devised to indicate quantity....We pronounce Each of the Persons once, but when we would number Them up, we do not proceed by an unlearned numeration to the notion of a polytheism." (vid. the whole passage,) ibid. de Sp. S. c. 18. "Why passing by the First Cause, does he [S. John] at once discourse to us of the Second? We will decline to speak of 'first' and 'second;' for the Godhead is higher than number and succession of times." Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. ii. 3 fin. "In respect of the Adorable and most Royal Trinity, 'first' and 'second' have no place; for the Godhead is higher than number and times." Isid. Pel. Ep. 3, 18. "He calls," says S. Maximus commenting on Pseudo-Dionysius, "fecundity, the Father's incomprehensible progression to the production of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and suitably does he say '*as* a Trinity,' since not number, but glory is expressed in 'The Lord God is One Lord.'" in Dionys. Opp. t. 2. p. 101. "We do not understand 'one' in the Divine Substance, as in the creatures; in whom what is properly one is not to be seen; for what is one in number, as in our case, is not properly one. It is not one in number, or as the beginning of number, any more than It is as magnitude or as the beginning of magnitude....That One is ineffable and indescribable; since It is the cause of what is one itself, *πάσης ἑνάδος ἑνοποιόν*." Eulog. ap. Phot. 230. p. 864. "Three what? I answer, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. See, he urges, you have said Three; but explain Three what? Nay, do you number, I have said all about the Three, when I say, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. Not, as there are two men, so are They two Gods; for there is here something ineffable, which cannot be put into words, that there should both be number in Three, and not number. For see if there does not seem to be number, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, a Trinity. If Three, Three what? number fails. Then God neither is without number, nor is under number....They imply number, only relatively to Each Other, not in Themselves." August. in Joan. 39, 3 and 4. "We say Three 'Persons,' as many Latins of authority have said in treating the subject, because they found no more suitable way of declaring an idea in words which they had without words. Since the Father is not the Son, and the Son not the Father, and the Holy Ghost neither Father nor Son, there are certainly Three; but when we ask, Three what? we feel the great poverty of human language. However, we say Three 'Persons,' not for the sake of saying that, but of

Disc. III. §. 37.

4. And while such is the sense of these passages, those too which speak humanly concerning the Saviour, admit of a religious meaning also. For with this end have we examined them beforehand, that, if we should hear Him asking where Lazarus is laid[1], or when He asks on coming into the parts of Cæsarea, *Whom do men say that I am?* or, *How many loaves have ye?* and, *What will ye that I shall do unto you?* we may know, from what has been already said, the orthodox[2] sense of the passages, and may not stumble as Christ's enemies the Arians. First then we must put this question to the irreligious, why they consider Him ignorant? for one who asks, does not for certain ask from ignorance; but it is possible for one who knows, still to ask concerning what he knows. Thus John was aware that Christ, when asking, *How many loaves have ye?* was not ignorant, for he says, *And this He said to prove him, for He Himself knew what He would do.* But if He knew what He was doing, therefore not in ignorance, but with knowledge did He ask. From this instance we may understand similar ones; that, when the Lord asks, He does not ask in ignorance, where Lazarus lies, nor again, whom men do say that He is; but knowing the thing which He was asking, aware what He was about to do.

[1] vid. infr. 46. John 11, 34. Matt. 16, 13. Mark 6, 38. Matt. 20, 32.

[2] ἰσόν, p. 341, note i.

John 6, 6.

5. And thus with ease is their sophism overthrown; but if they still persist[b] on account of His asking, then they must be told that in the Godhead indeed ignorance is not, but to the flesh ignorance is proper, as has been said. And that this is really so, observe how the Lord who inquired, where Lazarus lay, Himself said, when He was not on the spot but a great way off, *Lazarus is dead*, and where he was dead;

John 11, 14.

not saying nothing." de Trin. v. 10. "Unity is not number, but is itself the principle of all things." Ambros. de Fid. i. n. 19. "That is truly one, in which there is no number, nothing in It beyond That which is.... There is no diversity in It, no plurality from diversity, no multitude from accidents, and therefore not number.... but Unity only. For when God is thrice repeated, and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is named, three Unities do not make plurality of number in Him which They are.... This repetition of Unities is iteration rather than numeration.... As if I say, Sun, Sun, Sun, I have not made three Suns, but named one so many times.... A trine numeration then does not make number, which they rather run into, who make some difference between the Three." Boeth. Trin. unus Deus, p. 959. The last remark is found in Naz. Orat. 31, 18. Many of these passages are taken from Thomassin de Trin. 17.

[b] Petavius refers to this passage in proof that S. Athanasius did not in his real judgment consider our Lord ignorant, but went on to admit it in argument after having first given his own real opinion. vid. p. 464, note f.

and how that He who is considered by them as ignorant, CHAP. XXVII.
is He Himself who foreknew the reasonings of the disciples, and was aware of what was in the heart of each, and of *what was in man*, and, what is greater, alone knows the Father and says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me.* Therefore this is plain to every one, that the flesh indeed is ignorant, but the Word Himself, considered as the Word[1], knows all things even before they come to be. For He did not, when He became man, cease to be God[2]; nor, whereas He is God does He shrink from what is man's; perish the thought; but rather, being God, He has taken to Him the flesh, and being in the flesh makes the flesh god[3]. For as He asked questions in it, so also in it did He raise the dead; and He shewed to all that He who quickens the dead and recals the soul, much more discerns the secrets of all. And He knew where Lazarus lay, and yet He asked; for the All-holy Word of God, who endured all things for our sakes, did this, that so carrying our ignorance, He might vouchsafe to us the knowledge of His own only and true Father, and of Himself sent because of us for the salvation of all, than which no grace could be greater.

John 2, 25; 14, 11. §. 38.

[1] ἡ λόγος ἐστὶ

[2] p. 291, note k.

[3] διεστὶ

6. When then the Saviour uses the words which they allege in their defence, *Power is given to Me*, and, *Glorify Thy Son*, and Peter says, *Power is given unto Him*, we understand all these passages in the same sense, that humanly because of the body He says all this. For though He had no need, nevertheless He is said to have received what He received humanly, that on the other hand, inasmuch as the Lord has received, and the grant is lodged with Him, the grace may remain sure. For while mere man receives, he is liable to lose again, (as was shewn in the case of Adam, for he received and he lost[4],) but that the grace may be irrevocable, and may be kept sure[5] by men, therefore He Himself appropriates[6] the gift; and He says that He has received power, as man, which He ever had as God, and He says, *Glorify Me*, who glorifies others, to shew that He hath a flesh which has need of these things. Wherefore, when the flesh receives, since that which receives is in Him, and by taking it He hath become man, therefore He is said Himself to have received. If then, (as has many times been said,) §. 39.

[4] p. 379.

[5] supr. pp. 254, 388. p. 380, r. l.

[6] ἰδιοποιεῖται, supr. p. 447, note t.

Disc. III. the Word did not become man, then ascribe to the Word, as you would have it, to receive, and to need glory, and to be ignorant; but if He has become man, (and He has become,) and it is man's to receive, and to need, and to be ignorant, wherefore do we consider the Giver as receiver, and the Dispenser to others do we suspect to be in need, and divide the Word from the Father as imperfect and needy, while we strip human nature of grace? For if the Word Himself, considered as Word[1], has received and been glorified for His own sake, and if He according to His Godhead is He who is hallowed and has risen again, what hope is there for men? for they remain as they were, naked, and wretched, and dead, having no interest in the things given to the Son. Why too did the Word come among us, and become flesh? if that He might receive these things, which He says that He has received, He was without them before that, and of necessity will rather owe thanks Himself to the body[2], because, when He came into it, then He receives these things from the Father, which He had not before His descent into the flesh. For on this shewing He seems rather to be Himself promoted[3] because of the body[4], than the body promoted because of Him. But this notion is Judaic. But if that He might redeem mankind[5], the Word did come among us; and that He might hallow them and make them gods, the Word became flesh, (and for this He did become,) who does not see that it follows, that what He says that He received, when He became flesh, that He mentions, not for His own sake, but for the flesh? for to it, in which He was speaking, pertained the gifts given through Him from the Father.

[1] ἡ λόγος ἐστὶ

[2] infr. 51.

[3] βελτιοῦται

[4] vid. supr. p. 235.

[5] redemption an *internal* work. vid. supr. p. 357, note e.

[6] διακονία

7. But let us see what He asked, and what the things altogether were which He said that He had received, that in this way also they may be brought to feeling. He asked then glory, yet He had said, *All things are delivered unto Me.* And after the resurrection, He says that He has received all power; but even before that He had said, *All things are delivered unto Me*, He was Lord of all, for *all things were made by Him;* and *there is One Lord by whom are all things.* And when He asked glory, He was as He is, the Lord of glory; as Paul says, *If they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory;* for He had that glory which

Luke 10, 22.

1 Cor. 8, 6.

1 Cor. 2, 8.

He asked when He said, *the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.* Also the power which He said He received after the resurrection, that He had before He received it, and before the resurrection. For He of Himself rebuked[1] Satan, saying, *Get thee behind Me, Satan;* and to the disciples He gave the power against him, when on their return He said, *I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven.* And again, that what He said that He had received, that He possessed before receiving it, appears from His driving away the devils, and from His unbinding what Satan had bound, as He did in the case of the daughter of Abraham; and from His remitting sins, saying to the paralytic, and to the woman who washed His feet, *Thy sins be forgiven thee;* and from His both raising the dead, and repairing the first nature of the blind, granting to him to see. And all this He did, not waiting till He should receive, but being *possessed of power.*

CHAP. XXVII. §. 40. ἐπιτίμια, p. 485, note c. Luke 4, 8. Luke 10, 18. 19. vid. Luke 13, 16. Matt. 9, 5. Luke 7, 48. Is. 9, 6. Sept. ἐξουσιαστής.

8. From all this it is plain that what He had as Word, that when He had become man and was risen again, He says that He received humanly[2]; that for His sake men might henceforward upon earth have power against devils, as having become partakers of a divine nature; and in heaven, as being delivered from corruption, might reign everlastingly. Thus we must acknowledge this once for all, that nothing which He says that He received, did He receive as not possessing before; for the Word, as being God, had them always; but in these passages He is said humanly to have received that, whereas the flesh received in Him, henceforth from it the gift might abide[3] surely for us. For what is said by Peter, *receiving from God honour and glory, Angels being made subject unto Him,* has this meaning; for as He inquired humanly, and raised Lazarus divinely, so *He received* is spoken of Him humanly, but the subjection of the Angels marks the Word's Godhead.

[2] p. 245. [3] διαμεμενηκέναι, p. 380, r. 1. 2 Pet. 1, 17. 1 Pet. 3, 22. §. 41. [4] ὑποταγῆς, supr. p. 424, r. 2. infr. p. 484, r. 3. de Mort. Ar. 1. In illud Omn. 6, b.

9. Cease then, O ye abhorred of God[4], and degrade not the Word; nor detract from His Godhead, which is the Father's[5], as though He needed or were ignorant; lest ye be casting your own arguments against the Christ, as the Jews who once stoned Him. For these are not the Word's, as the Word[6]; but are proper to men; and, as when He spat, and stretched

[5] p. 400, note d. [6] ἢ λόγου ἐστί.

Disc. III. the Word did not become man, then [illegible] did not say that the you would have it, to receive, and [illegible] were done through the ignorant; but if He has become [illegible] other hand, though human and it is man's to receive, [illegible]our in the Gospel, let us, con- wherefore do we consid[illegible]is said and that they are foreign Dispenser to others do [illegible] to the Word's Godhead, but to His the Word from the F[illegible] *the Word became flesh*, yet to the strip human natu[illegible]ons proper; and though the flesh is [1] ἡ λόγου ἰδιότης considered as W[illegible] in the Word, yet to the Word belong the own sake, an[illegible] power. He did then the Father's works is hallowed [illegible] flesh; and as truly contrariwise were the af- for they [illegible] the flesh displayed in Him; for instance, He dead, [illegible] and He raised Lazarus, He chid[e] His Mother, Wh[illegible] *My hour is not yet come*, and then at once He made if[illegible] wine. For He was Very God in the flesh, and He [2] infr. was true flesh in the Word. Therefore from His works He revealed both Himself as Son of God, and His own Father, and from the affections of the flesh He shewed that He bore a true body, and that it was proper to Him.

[e] ἰσχλῆναι; and so ἰσιτίμησι, Chrysost. in loc. Joann. and Theophyl. ὡς ἰσχνότης ἰσιτιμᾷ, Theodor. Eran. ii. p. 106. ἰντρέπω, Anon. ap. Corder. Cat. in loc. μέμφεται, Alter Anon. ibid. ἰσιτιμᾶ οὐκ ἀτιμάζων ἀλλὰ διορθούμενος, Euthym. in loc. οὐκ ἰσίσχλῃξι, Pseudo-Justin. Quæst. ad Orthod. 136. It is remarkable that Athan. dwells on these words as implying our Lord's humanity, (i. e. because Christ appeared to *decline* a miracle,) when one reason assigned for them by the Fathers is that He wished, in the words τί μοι καὶ σοί, to remind S. Mary that He was the Son of God and must be "about His Father's business." "Repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem," Iren. Hær. iii. 16, n. 7. who thinks S. Mary desired to drink of His cup; others that their entertainer was poor, and that she wished to befriend him. Nothing can be argued from S. Athan.'s particular word here commented on how he would have taken the passage. That the tone of our Lord's words is indeed (judging humanly and speaking humanly) cold and distant, is a simple fact, but it may be explained variously. It is observable that ἰσισχλύσαι and ἰσιτιμᾷ are the words used (infr. p. 477, note a.) for our Lord's treatment of His own sacred body. But they are very vague words, and have a strong meaning or not, as the case may be.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ARTS EXPLAINED; ELEVENTHLY, MARK xiii. 32. AND LUKE ii. 52.

Arian explanation of the former text is against the Regula Fidei; and against the context. Our Lord said He was ignorant of the Day, by reason of His human nature; from sympathy with man. If the Holy Spirit knows the Day, therefore the Son knows; if the Son knows the Father, therefore He knows the Day; if He has all that is the Father's, therefore knowledge of the Day; if in the Father, He knows the Day in the Father; if the Father's Image, He knows the Day; if He created and upholds all things, He knows the Day when they will cease to be. He knows not, as representing us, argued from Matt. 24, 42. As He asked about Lazarus's grave, &c. yet knew, so He knows; as S. Paul says, "whether in the body I know not," &c. yet knew, so He knows. He said He knew not for our profit, that we be not curious, (as in Acts 1, 7. where on the contrary He did not say He knew not;) that we be not secure and slothful. As the Almighty asks of Adam and of Cain, yet knew, so the Son knows. Again, He advanced in wisdom also as man, else He made Angels perfect before Himself. He advanced, in that the Godhead was manifested in Him more fully as time went on.

§. 42.

1. THESE things being so, come let us now examine into *But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, neither the Angels of God, nor the Son*[a]; for being in great ignorance as regards these words, and being stupified[1] about them, they think they have in them an important argument for their heresy. But I, when the heretics allege it and prepare themselves with it, see in them the giants[2] again fighting

Mark 13, 32.

[1] σκοτοδινιῶντες, de Decr. §. 18 init. p. 336, r. 2.

[2] γίγαντας θεομαχοῦντας, p. 325, note d.

[a] S. Basil takes the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, to mean, "nor does the Son know, except the Father knows," or "nor would the Son but for, &c." or "nor does the Son know, except as the Father knows." "The cause of the Son's knowing is from the Father." Ep. 236, 2. S. Gregory alludes to the same interpretation, οὐδ' ὁ υἱὸς ἢ ὡς ὅτι ὁ πατήρ. "Since the Father knows, therefore the Son." Naz. Orat. 30, 16. S. Irenæus seems to adopt the same when he says, "The Son was not ashamed to *refer* the knowledge of that day to the Father;" Hær. ii. 28, n. 6. as Naz. supr. uses the words ἐπὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφερέσθω. And so Photius distinctly, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀναφέρεται. "Not the Son, but the Father, that is, whence knowledge comes to the Son as from a fountain." Epp. p. 342. ed. 1651.

Disc. III. against God. For the Lord of heaven and earth, by whom all things were made, has to litigate before them about day and hour; and the Word who knows all things, is accused by them of ignorance about a day; and the Son who knows the Father, is said to be ignorant of an hour of a day; now what can be spoken more contrary to sense, or what madness can be likened to this? Through the Word all things were made, times and seasons and night and day and the whole creation; and is the Framer of all said to be ignorant of His work? And the very context[1] of the passage shews that the Son of God knows that hour and that day, though the Arians fall headlong in their ignorance. For after saying, *nor the Son*, He relates to the disciples the approaches of the day, saying, "This and that shall be, and then the end." But He who speaks of the antecedents of the day, knows certainly the day also, which shall be manifested subsequently to the things foretold. But if He had not known the hour, He had not signified the events before it, as not knowing when it should be. And as any one, who, by way of pointing out a house or city to those who were ignorant of it, gave an account of the things that preceded the house or city, and having described all particulars, said, "Then immediately comes the city or the house," would know of course, where the house or the city was, (for had he not known, he had not described these antecedents, lest from ignorance he should throw his hearers far out of the way, or in speaking he should unawares go beyond the object,) so the Lord saying what shall precede that day and that hour, knows exactly, not is ignorant, when the hour and the day are at hand.

[1] *εἰρμὸς*

§. 43. 2. Now why it was that, though He knew, He did not tell His disciples plainly at that time, no one may be curious[2] where He has been silent; for *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?* but why, though He knew, He said, *no, not the Son knows*, this I think none of the faithful is ignorant, viz. that He made this as those other declarations as man by reason of the flesh. For this as before is not the Word's deficiency[3], but of that human nature[4] whose property it is to be ignorant. And this again will be well seen by honestly examining into the occasion, *when and to* whom the Saviour spoke thus. Not then when

[2] *περιεργάσεται* p. 426, note q.

Rom. 11, 34.

[3] *ἰλάττωμα*, p. 244, r. 1.

[4] *φύσεως*, vid. *p. 345, note g.*

the heaven was made by Him, nor when He was with the Father Himself, the Word *disposing all things*, nor before He became man did He say it, but when *the Word became flesh*. On this account it is reasonable to ascribe to His manhood every thing which, after He became man, He speaks humanly. For it is proper to the Word to know what was made, nor be ignorant either of the beginning or the end of these, (for the works are His,) and He knows how many things He has wrought, and the limit of their consistence. And knowing of each the beginning and the end, He knows surely the general and common end of all. CHAP. XXVIII. Prov. 8, 27. Sept. John 1, 14.

3. Certainly when He says in the Gospel concerning Himself in His human character, *Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son*, it is plain that He knows also the hour of the end of all things, as the Word, though as man He is ignorant of it, for ignorance is proper to man [b], and especially ignorance of these things. Moreover this is proper to the Saviour's love of man; for since He was made man, He is not ashamed, because of the flesh which is ignorant[1], to say "I know not," that He may shew that knowing as God, He is but ignorant John 17, 1. [1] p. 469, r. 1.

[b] Though our Lord, as having two natures, had a human as well as a divine knowledge, and though that human knowledge was not only limited because human, but liable to ignorance in matters in which greater knowledge was possible; yet it is the doctrine of the Church, that *in fact* He was not ignorant even in His human nature, according to its capacity, since it was from the first taken out of its original and natural condition, and "deified" by its union with the Word. As then (supra p. 344, note f.) His manhood was created, yet He may not be called a creature even in His manhood, and as (supra p. 300, note b.) His flesh was in its abstract nature a servant, yet He is not a servant in fact, even as regards the flesh; so, though He took on Him a soul which left to itself had been partially ignorant, as other human souls, yet as ever enjoying the beatific vision from its oneness with the Word, it never was ignorant really, but knew all things which human soul can know. vid. Eulog. ap. Phot. 230. p. 884. As Pope Gregory expresses it, "Novit in naturâ, non ex naturâ humanitatis." Epp. x. 39. However, this view of the sacred subject was received by the Church after S. Athanasius's day, and it cannot be denied that he and others of the most eminent Fathers use language which *primâ facie* is inconsistent with it. They certainly seem to impute ignorance to our Lord as man, as Athan. in this passage. Of course it is not meant that our Lord's soul has the same perfect knowledge as He has as God. This was the assertion of a General of the Hermits of S. Austin at the time of the Council of Basil, when the proposition was formally condemned, animam Christi Deum videre tam clarè et intensè quàm clarè et intensè Deus videt seipsum. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 42. Yet Fulgentius had said, "I think that in no respect was full knowledge of the Godhead wanting to that Soul, whose Person is one with the Word: whom Wisdom so assumed that it is itself that same Wisdom." ad Ferrand. iii. p. 223. ed. 1639. Yet, ad Trasmund. i. 7. he speaks of ignorance attaching to our Lord's human nature.

Disc. III.

according to the flesh[c]. And therefore He said not, "no, not the Son of God knows," lest the Godhead should seem ignorant, but simply, *no, not the Son*, that the ignorance

§. 44. might be the Son's as born from among men. On this account, He alludes to the Angels, but He did not go further and say, "not the Holy Ghost;" but He was silent, with a double intimation; first that if the Spirit knew, much more must the Word know, considered as the Word[1], from whom the Spirit receives[2]; and next by His silence about the Spirit, He made it clear, that He said of His human ministry[3], *no, not the Son.*

[1] ἡ λόγος ἐστί,
[2] p. 248.
[3] Serap. i. 20 fin.
[3] λειτουργίας

4. And a proof of it is this; that, when He had spoken humanly[d] *No, not the Son knows*, He yet shews that divinely He knew all things. For that Son whom He declares not

[c] And so Athan. ad Serap. ii. 9. S. Basil on the question being asked him by S. Amphilochius, says that he shall give him the answer he had "heard from a boy from the fathers," but which was more fitted for pious Christians than for cavillers, and that is, that "our Lord says many things to men in His human aspect; as 'Give me to drink,'...yet He who asked was not flesh without a soul, but Godhead using flesh which had one." Ep. 236, 1. He goes on to suggest another explanation which has been mentioned p. 459, note a. And S. Cyril, "Let them then [the Arians] strip the Word openly of the flesh and what it implies, and destroy outright the whole Economy, and then they will clearly see the Son as God; or, if they shudder at this as impious and absurd, why blush they at the conditions of the manhood, and determine to find fault with what especially befits the economy of the flesh?" Trin. pp. 623, 4. vid. also Thes. p. 220. "As He submitted as man to hunger and thirst, so ....to be ignorant." p. 221. vid. also Greg. Naz. Orat. 30, 15. Theodoret expresses the same opinion very strongly, speaking of a gradual revelation to the manhood from the Godhead, but in an argument where it was to his point to do so; in Anath. 4. t. v. p. 23. ed. Schutze. Theodore of Mopsuestia also speaks of a revelation made by the Word. ap. Leont. c. Nest. (Canis. i. p. 579.)

[d] Leporius, in his Retractation, which S. Augustine subscribed, writes, "That I may in this respect also leave nothing to be cause of suspicion to any one, I then said, nay I answered when it was put to me, that our Lord Jesus Christ was ignorant as He was man, (secundùm hominem.) But now not only do I not presume to say so, but I even anathematize my former opinion expressed on this point, because it may not be said, that the Lord of the Prophets was ignorant even as He was man." ap. Sirm. t. i. p. 210. A subdivision also of the Eutychians were called by the name of Agnoetæ from their holding that our Lord was ignorant of the day of judgment. "They said," says Leontius, "that He was ignorant of it, as we say that He underwent toil." de Sect. 5. circ. fin. Felix of Urgela held the same doctrine according to Agobard's testimony, as contained p. 466, note g. The Ed. Ben. observes on the text, that the assertion of our Lord's ignorance "seems to have been condemned in no one in ancient times, unless joined to other error." And Petavius, after drawing out the authorities for and against it, says, "Of these two opinions, the latter, which is now received both by custom and by the agreement of divines, is deservedly preferred to the former. For it is more agreeable to Christ's dignity, and more befitting His character and office of Mediator and Head, that is, Fountain of all grace and wisdom, and moreover of Judge, who is concerned in knowing the time fixed for exercising that function. In consequence, the former opinion, though formerly it received the countenance of some men of high eminence, was afterwards marked as a heresy." Incarn. xi. 1. §. 15.

to know the day, Him He declares to know the Father; for *No one*, He says, *knoweth the Father save the Son*. And all men but the Arians would join in confessing, that He who knows the Father, much more knows the whole history[1] of the creation; and in that whole, its end. And if already the day and the hour be determined by the Father, it is plain that through the Son are they determined, and He knows Himself what through Him has been determined[2]; for there is nothing, but has come to be and has been determined through the Son. Therefore He, being the Framer of the universe, knows of what nature, and of what magnitude, and with what limits, the Father has willed it to be made; and in the how much and how far is included its period[3]. And again, if all that is the Father's, is the Son's, (and this He Himself has said,) and it is the Father's attribute to know the day, it is plain that the Son too knows it, having this proper to Him from the Father. And again, if the Son be in the Father and the Father in the Son, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is clear that the Son, being in the Father and knowing the things of the Father, knows Himself also the day and the hour. And if the Son is also the Father's Very Image, and the Father knows the day and the hour, it is plain that the Son has this likeness[c] also to the Father of knowing them. And it is not wonderful if He, through whom all things were made, and in whom the universe consists, Himself knows what has been brought to be, and when the end will be of each and of all together; rather is it wonderful that this audacity, suitable as it is to the madness of the Ario-maniacs, should have forced us to have recourse to so long an explanation. For ranking the Son of God, the Eternal Word, among things generate, they are not far from venturing to maintain that the Father Himself is second to the creation; for if He who knows the Father knows not the day nor the hour, I fear lest knowledge of the creation, or rather of the lower portion of it, be greater, as they in their madness would say, than knowledge concerning the Father.

CHAP. XXVIII. Mat. 11, 27.

[1] τὸ ὅλον

[2] pp. 338, 412, 466, r. 2.

[3] ἀλλαγή p. 337, note c. John 16, 15.

[c] Basil. Ep. 236, 1. Cyril. Thes. p. 220. Quomodo vultis hæc fecisse Dei filium? numquid quasi annulum qui non sentit quod exprimit? Ambros. de fid. v. 197. Hence the force of the word "living" commonly joined to such words as εἰκών, σφραγίς, βουλή, ἐνέργεια, when speaking of our Lord, e. g. Naz. Orat. 30. 20, c. Vid. p. 491, note n.

Disc. III. §. 45.

5. But for them, when they thus blaspheme the Spirit, they must expect no remission ever of such irreligion, as the Lord has said[1]; but let us, who love Christ and bear Christ within us[2], know that the Word, not as ignorant, considered as Word[3], has said *I know not*, for He knows, but as shewing His manhood[f], in that to be ignorant is proper to man, and

[1] p. 252, note h.

[2] χριστοφόρους

[3] ὁ λόγος ἐστί.

[f] It is a question to be decided, whether our Lord speaks of actual ignorance in His human Mind, or of the natural ignorance of that Mind considered as human; ignorance in or ex naturâ; or, which comes to the same thing, whether He spoke of a real ignorance, or of an economical or professed ignorance, in a certain view of His incarnation or office, as when He asked, "How many loaves have ye?" when "He Himself knew what He would do," or as He is called sin, though sinless. Thus it has been noticed, supra p. 359, note f. that Ath. seems to make His infirmities altogether but imputative, not real, as if shewing that the subject had not in his day been thoroughly worked out. In like manner S. Hilary, who, if the passage be genuine, states so clearly our Lord's ignorance, de Trin. ix. fin. yet, as Petavius observes, seems elsewhere to deny to Him those very affections of the flesh to which he has there paralleled it. And this view of Athan.'s meaning is favoured by the turn of his expressions. He says such a defect belongs to "*that human nature* whose property it is to be ignorant;" §. 43. that "since He was made man, He is not *ashamed*, because of the flesh which is ignorant, *to say* 'I know not;'" ibid. and, as here, that "as *shewing* His manhood, in that to be ignorant is *proper* to man, and that He had *put on* a flesh *that was ignorant*, being in which, He *said* according to the flesh, 'I know not;'" "that He might *shew* that as man He knows not;" §. 46. that "*as* man," (i. e. on the *ground* of being man, not in the *capacity* of man,) "He knows not;" ibid. and that "He *asks* about Lazarus humanly," even when "He was *on His way* to raise him," which implied surely knowledge in His human nature. The reference to the parallel of S. Paul's professed ignorance when he really knew, §. 47. leads us to the same suspicion. And so "for *our profit*, as I think, did He this." §. 48—50. The natural want of precision on such questions in the early ages was shewn or fostered by such words as οἰκονομικῶς, which, in respect of this very text, is used by S. Basil to denote both our Lord's Incarnation, Ep. 236, 1 fin. and His gracious accommodation of Himself and His truth, Ep. 8, 6. and with the like variety of meaning, with reference to the same text, by Cyril. Trin. p. 623. and Thesaur. p. 224. (And the word *dispensatio* in like manner, Ben. note on Hil. x. 8.) In the latter Ep. S. Basil suggests that our Lord "economizes by a feigned ignorance." § 6. And S. Cyril. in Thesaur. l. c. in spite of his strong language quoted above, "The Son knows all things, though economically He says He is ignorant of something." Thesaur. p. 224. And even in de Trin. vi. he seems to recognise the distinction laid down just now between the natural and actual state of our Lord's humanity; "God would not make it known even to the Son Himself, were he a *mere* man upon earth, as they say, and not having it in His nature to be God." p. 629. And S. Hilary arguing that He must as man know the day of judgment, for His coming is as man, says, "Since He is Himself a sacrament, let us see whether He be ignorant in the things which He knows not. For if in the other respects a profession of ignorance is not an intimation of not knowing, so here too He is not ignorant of what He knows not. For since His ignorance, in respect that all treasures of knowledge lie hid in Him, is rather an economy (dispensation) than an ignorance, you have a cause why He is ignorant without an intimation of not knowing." Trin. ix. 62. And he gives reasons why He professed ignorance, n. 67. viz. as S. Austin words it, Christum se dixisse nescientem, in quo alios facit occultando nescientes. Ep. 180, 3. S. Austin follows him, saying, Hoc nescit quod nescienter facit. Trin. i. 23. Pope Gregory says that the text "is most certainly to be referred to the Son not as He is Head, but as to His body which we are." Ep. x. 39. And S. Ambrose distinctly; "The Son which took on Him the flesh, assumed our

that He had put on a flesh that was ignorant[1], being in which, He said according to the flesh, *I know not*. And for this reason, after saying, *No not the Son knows*, and mentioning the ignorance of the men in Noe's day, immediately He added, "*Watch therefore, for ye know not in what hour your Lord doth come*, and again, *In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh*. For I too, having become as you for you, said *no, not the Son*." For, had He been ignorant divinely, He must have said, "Watch therefore, for I know not," and, "In an hour when I think not;" but in fact this hath He not said; but by saying *Ye know not* and *When ye think not*, He has signified that it belongs to man to be ignorant; for whose sake He too having a flesh like theirs and having become man, said *No, not the Son knows*, for He knew not in flesh, though knowing as Word.

CHAP. XXVIII. [1] p. 469, r. 1. Matt. 24, 42. 44.

6. And again the example from Noe exposes the shamelessness of Christ's enemies; for there too He said, not, "I knew not," but *They knew not until the flood came*. For men did not know, but He who brought the flood (and it was the Saviour Himself) knew the day and the hour, in which He opened the windows of heaven, and broke up the fountains of the great deep, and said to Noe, *Come thou and all thy house into the ark*. For were He ignorant, He had not foretold to Noe, *Yet seven days and I will bring a flood upon the earth*. But if in describing the day, He makes use of the parallel of Noe's time, and He did know the day of the flood, therefore He knows also the day of His own appearing. Moreover, after narrating the parable[2] of the Virgins, again He shews more clearly who they are who are ignorant of the day and the hour, saying, *Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour*. He who said shortly before, *No one knoweth, no not the Son*, now says not "I know not," but *ye know not*. In like manner then, when His disciples asked about the end, suitably said He then, *no, nor the Son*, according to the

Matt. 24, 39. Gen. 7, 1. v. 4. §. 46. [2] ἐμοίωσεν Matt. 25, 13.

affections, so as to say that He knew not with our ignorance; not that He was ignorant of any thing Himself, for, though He seemed to be man in truth of body, yet He was the life and light, and virtue went out of Him, &c." de fid. v. 222. And so Cæsarius, Qu. 20. and Photius Epp. p. 366. Chrysost. in Matth. Hom. 77, 3. Theodoret, however, but in controversy, is very severe on the principle of Economy. "If He knew the day, and wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what a blasphemy is the result. Truth tells an untruth." l. c. pp. 23, 4.

Disc. III. flesh because of the body; that He might shew that, as man, He knows not; for ignorance is proper to man[g]. If however He is the Word, if it is He who is to come, He to be Judge, He to be the Bridegroom, He knoweth when and in what hour He cometh, and when He is to say, *Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.* For as, on becoming man, He hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men, as man He knows not, though divinely, being in the Father Word and Wisdom, He knows, and there is nothing which He knows not.

Eph. 5, 14.

7. In like manner also about Lazarus[1] He asks humanly, who was on His way to raise him, and knew whence He should recall Lazarus's soul; and it was a greater thing to know where the soul was, than to know where the body lay; but He asked humanly, that He might raise divinely. So too He asks of the disciples, on coming into the parts of Cæsarea, though knowing even before Peter made answer. For if the Father revealed to Peter the answer to the Lord's question, it is plain that through the Son[2] was the revelation, for *No one knoweth the Son*, saith He, *but the Father, neither the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son shall reveal Him.* But if through the Son is revealed the knowledge both of the Father and the Son, there is no room for doubting that the Lord who asked, having first revealed it to Peter from the Father, next asked humanly; in order to shew, that asking after the flesh, He knew divinely what Peter was about to say. The Son then knew, as knowing all things, and knowing His own Father, than which knowledge nothing can be greater or more perfect.

[1] vid. p. 454.

[2] p. 463, r. 2. Luke 10, 22.

§. 47. 8. This is sufficient to confute them; but to shew still

[g] The mode in which Athan. here expresses himself, is as if he did not ascribe ignorance literally, but apparent ignorance, to our Lord's soul, vid. supr. p. 464, note f; not certainly in the broad sense in which heretics have done so. As Leontius, e. g. reports of Theodore of Mopsuestia, that he considered Christ "to be ignorant so far, as not to know, when He was tempted, who tempted Him;" contr. Nest. iii. (Canis. t. i. p. 579.) and Agobard of Felix the Adoptionist that he held "Our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh *truly* to have been ignorant of the sepulchre of Lazarus, when He said to His sisters, 'Where have ye laid him?' and was *truly* ignorant of the day of judgment; and was *truly* ignorant what the two disciples were saying, as they walked by the way, of what had been done at Jerusalem; and was *truly* ignorant whether He was more loved by Peter than by the other disciples, when He said, 'Simon Peter, Lovest thou Me more than these?'" B. P. t. 9. p. 1177. The Agnoetæ have been noticed just above.

further how hostile they are to the truth and Christ's enemies, I could wish to ask them a question. The Apostle in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians writes, *I knew a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago, whether in the body I do not know, or whether out of the body I do not know; God knoweth*[h]. What now say ye? Knew the Apostle what had happened to him in the vision, though he says *I know not*, or knew he not? If he knew not, see to it, lest, being familiar with error, ye err in the trespass[1] of the Phrygians[i] who say that the Prophets and the other ministers of the Word know neither what they do nor concerning what they announce. But if he knew when he said *I know not*, for he had Christ within him revealing to him all things, is not the heart of

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2 Cor. 12, 2.

[1] παρανομίαν, p. 401, note f.

[h] S. Augustine understands the passage differently, i. e. that S. Paul really did not know whether or not he was in the body. Gen. ad lit. xii. 14.

[i] S. Jerome on the first words of the book of Nahum says, "He speaks not in ecstacy, as Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla rave; but what he prophesies, is a book of vision of one who understands all that he says, and a burden of enemies of one who has a vision among his people." Præf. in Naum. In like manner Tertullian in one of his Montanistic works speaks of "amentia, as the spiritalis vis qua constat prophetia;" and he considers Adam's sleep as an ecstacy, and "This is bone of my bone, &c." as his prophecy. de Anim. 21. And a contemporary writer in Eusebius, says that Montanus "had suddenly a seizure and ecstacy, and was in a transport, and began to speak and to utter an unknown language, ξενοφωνῆν, prophesying beside the custom of the Church, as received by tradition and succession from antiquity." Hist. v. 16. Epiphanius too, noticing the failure of Maximilla's prophecies, says, "Whatever the prophets have said, they spoke with understanding, following the sense." Hær. 48. p. 403. And he proceeds to speak of their "settled mind," and their "self-possession," and their not being "carried away as if in ecstacy," which gained them the name of "Seers;" and he instances Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. And so S. Cyril of the true Spirit: "His coming is gentle, the perception of Him is fragrant, most light is His burden, beams of light and knowledge gleam forth before His coming, &c." Cat. xvi. 16. "It is to be observed," says Leslie, "that the beginnings of several heresies and sects have been attended with these sort of violent and preternatural transports, as in John of Leyden, Knipperdolling, and some later enthusiasts among ourselves, besides the Quakers. Such punishments did in the primitive Church often follow the sentence of excommunication upon notorious offenders." Works, vol. 5. p. 64. Since his time the Wesleyans furnish an instance not very dissimilar. "Many of those that heard," says Wesley, "began to call upon God with strong cries and tears; some sank down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently, that often four or five persons could not hold one of them." Southey's Wesley, vol. i. p. 271. And so the French Prophets; "She leaned back in her chair, and had strong workings in her breast, and uttered deep sighs. Her head, and her hands, and by turns every part of her body, were affected with convulsive motions, &c." ibid. p. 279. And so of the Irvingite prophetesses, Mr. Pilkington says, "The 'Tongue'... burst forth.... with an astonishing and terrible crash, so suddenly and in such short sentences, that I seldom recovered the shock before the English commenced ....Her whole frame was in violent agitation, but principally the body from the hips to the shoulders, which worked with a lateral motion, &c." The Unknown Tongues, pp. 5 and 17. "With an appearance of surprise he asked me what I intended by it? I replied, 'It is what I understand the Tongues to mean.' 'How can you, Sir, undertake to interpret the words of God? &c.'" Bacchatur vates, magnum si pec-

Disc. III. Tit. 3. God's enemies indeed perverted and *self-condemned?* for when the Apostle says, *I know not*, they say that he knows; but when the Lord says, "I know not," they say that He does not know. For if since Christ was within him, Paul knew that of which he says, *I know not*, does not much more Christ Himself know, though He say, "I know not?" The Apostle then, the Lord revealing it to him, knew what happened; for on this account he says, *I knew a man in Christ;* and knowing the man, he knew also how the man was caught away. Thus Eliseus, who beheld Elias, knew also how he was taken up; but though knowing, yet when the sons of the Prophets thought that Elias was cast upon one of the mountains by the Spirit, he knowing from the first what he had seen, tried to persuade them; but when they urged it, he was silent, and suffered them to go after him. Did he then not know, because he was silent? he knew indeed, but as if not knowing, he suffered them, that they being convinced, might no more doubt about the assumption of Elias. Therefore much more Paul, himself being the person caught away, knew also how he was caught; for Elias knew; and had any one asked, he would have said how. And yet Paul says *I know not*, for these two reasons, as I think at least, one, as he has said himself, lest because of the abundance of the revelations any one should think of him beyond what he saw; the other, because, our Saviour having said "I know not," it became him also to say *I know not*, lest the servant should appear above his Lord, and the
§. 48. disciple above his Master. Therefore He who gave to Paul to know, much rather knew Himself; for since He spoke of the antecedents of the day, He also knew, as I said before, when the Day and when the Hour, and yet though knowing, He says, *No, not the Son knoweth.*

9. Why then said He at that time "I know not," what
[1] διατείνεται, p. 479, r. 5. He, as Lord[1], knew? as we may by searching conjecture, for our profit[k], as I think at least, did He this; and may He

tore possit Excussisse Deum, &c. Virg. Æn. vi. 78. p. 19. In the de Syn. 4. supr. p. 78. Athan. speaks of the Montanists as making a fresh beginning of Christianity; i. e. they were the first heretics who professed to prophesy and to introduce a new or additional revelation. vid. Neander's Church History, (Rose's tr.) vol. 2. pp. 176—187.

[k] This expression, which repeatedly occurs in this and the following sections, surely implies that there was something economical in our Lord's profession of ignorance. He said with a purpose, not as a mere plain fact or doctrine. And so S. Cyril, "He says that He is ignorant *for our sake*, and among us, as man;" Thes. p. 221. "economically

grant to what we are now proposing a true meaning! On both sides did the Saviour secure our advantage; for He hath made known what comes before the end, that, as He said Himself, we might not be startled nor scared, when they happen, but from them may expect the end after them. And concerning the day and the hour He was not willing to say according to His divine nature, "I know," but after the flesh, "I know not," for the sake of the flesh which was ignorant[1], as I have said before; lest they should ask Him further, and then either He should have to pain the disciples by not speaking, or by speaking might act to the prejudice of them and us all. For whatever He does, that altogether He does for our sakes, since also for us *the Word became flesh.* For us therefore He said *No, not the Son knoweth;* and neither was He untrue in thus saying, (for He said humanly, as man, "I know not,") nor did He suffer the disciples to force Him to speak, for by saying "I know not" He stopped their inquiries. CHAP. XXVIII.

[1] p. 461, r. 1. p. 465, r. 1.

10. And so in the Acts of the Apostles it is written, when He went upon the Angels, ascending as man, and carrying up to heaven the flesh which He bore, on the disciples seeing this, and again asking, "When shall the end be, and when wilt Thou be present?" He said to them more clearly, *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power.* And He did not then say, *No, not the Son,* as He said before humanly, but, *It is not for you to know.* For now the flesh had risen and put off its mortality and been made god[2]; and no longer did

Acts 1, 7.

[2] θεοποιεῖται

effecting, εἰς ὠφέλειαν, something profitable and good." ibid. And again, after stating that there was an objection, and paralleling His words with His question to S. Philip about the loaves, he says, "Knowing as God the Word, He *can*, as man, be ignorant." p. 223. "It is not a sign of ignorance, but of wisdom, for it was inexpedient that we should know it." Ambros. de Fid. v. 209. S. Chrysostom seems to say the same, denying that the Son was ignorant. in Matt. 24, 36. And Theophylact, "Had He said, 'I know, but I will not tell you,' they had been cast down, as if despised by Him; but now in saying 'not the Son but the Father only,' He hinders them asking....for how can the Son be ignorant of the day?" Theophyl. in loc. Matt. "Often little children see their fathers holding something in their hands, and ask for it, but they will not give it. Then the children cry as not receiving it. At length the fathers hide what they have got and shew their empty hands to their children, and so stop their crying.....For our profit hath He hid it." ibid. in loc. Marc. "For thee He is ignorant of the hour and day of judgment, though nothing is hid from the Very Wisdom ....But He economizes this because of thy infirmity, &c." Basil. Ep. 8, 6.

Disc. III. it become Him to answer after the flesh when He was going into the heavens; but henceforth to teach after a divine manner, *It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father hath put in His own power; but ye shall receive Power*[l]. And what is that Power of the Father but the Son?

§. 49. for Christ is *God's Power and God's Wisdom*. The Son then did know, as being the Word; for He implied this in what He said,—"I know, but it is not for you to know; for it was for your sakes that sitting also on the mount I said according to the flesh, *No, not the Son knoweth*," for the profit of you and all. For it is profitable to you to hear so much both of the Angels and of the Son, because of the deceivers which shall be afterwards; that though devils should be transfigured as Angels, and should attempt to speak concerning the end, you should not believe, since they are ignorant; and that, if Antichrist too, disguising himself, should say, "I am Christ," and should try in his turn to speak of that day and end, to deceive the hearers, ye, having these words from Me, *No, not the Son*, may believe him no more than the rest.

11. And further, not to know when the end is, or when the day of the end, is expedient for man, lest knowing, they may become negligent of the time between, awaiting the days near the end; for they will argue that then only must they attend to themselves[m]. Therefore also has He been silent of the time when each shall die, lest men, being elated on the ground of knowledge, should forthwith neglect themselves for the greater part of their time. Both then, the end of all things and the limit of each of us hath the Word concealed from us, (for in the end of all is the end of each, and in the end of each the end of all is comprehended,) that, whereas it is uncertain and always in prospect, we may advance day by day as if summoned, reaching forward to the things before us and forgetting the things behind. For who, knowing the day of the end, would not be dilatory with the interval? but, if ignorant, would not be ready day by day? It was on this account that the Saviour added, *Watch therefore, for ye know not what hour your Lord*

vid. Phil. 3, 13.

Mat. 24, 42.

[l] vid. Basil. Ep. 8, 6. Cyril. Thes. p. 222. Ambros. de fid. v. 212. Chrysost. and Hieron. in loc. Matt. 26, 4. de Trin. ix. 67. Ambros. de Fid. v. c. 17. Isidor. Pelus. Epp. i. 117. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 77, 2 and 3.

[m] vid. Hilar. in Matt. Comment.

doth come; and, *In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh.* For the advantage then which comes of ignorance has He said this; for in saying it, He wishes that we should always be prepared; "for you," He says, "know not; but I, the Lord, know when I come, though the Arians do not wait for Me, who am the Word of the Father." The Lord then[1], knowing what is good for us beyond ourselves, thus secured the disciples; and they, being thus taught, set right those of Thessalonica when likely on this point to run into error. CHAP. XXVIII. Luke 12, 40. §. 50. [1] ὁ μὲν οὖν ... vid. 2 Thes. 2, 1.

12. However[2], since Christ's enemies do not yield even to these considerations, I wish, though knowing that they have a heart harder than Pharaoh, to ask them again concerning this. In Paradise God asks, *Adam, where art Thou*[n]*?* and He inquires of Cain also, *Where is Abel thy brother*[o]*?* What then say you to this? for if you think Him ignorant and therefore to have asked, you are already of the party of the Manichees, for this is their bold thought; but if, fearing the open name, ye force yourselves to say, that He asks knowing, what is there extravagant or strange in the doctrine, that ye should thus fall, on finding that the Son, [2] ... ἐκεῖ- νῃ δὲ Gen. 3, 9; 4, 9.

[n] This seems taken from Origen. "He who knows what is in the heart of men, Christ Jesus, as He has taught us in the Gospel of John, asks, yet is not ignorant. But since He has now taken on Him man, He adopts all that is man's, and among them the asking questions. Nor is it strange that the Saviour should do so, since the very God of all, accommodating Himself to the habits of man, as a father might to his son, inquires, for instance, 'Adam, where art thou?' and 'Where is Abel thy brother?'" in Matt. t. 10. §. 14. vid. also Pope Gregory and Chrysost. infr.

[o] S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, and Pope Gregory, in addition to the instances in the text, refer to "I will go down now, and *see whether* they have done, &c. and if not, I will *know*." Gen, 18, 21. "The Lord came down *to see* the city and the tower, &c." Gen. 11, 5. "God looked down from heaven upon the children of men *to see*, &c." Ps. 53, 3. "*It may be* they will reverence My Son." Matt. 21, 37. Luke 20, 13. "Seeing a fig tree afar off, having leaves, He came, *if haply* He *might find*, &c." Mark 11, 13. "Simon, lovest thou Me?" John 21, 15. vid. Ambros. de Fid. v. c. 17. Chrys. in Matt. Hom. 77, 3. Greg. Epp. x. 39. Vid. also the instances supr. §. 37. Other passages may be added, such as Gen. 22, 12. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 42. But the difficulty of the passage lies in its signifying that there is a sense in which the Father knows what the Son knows not. Petavius, after S. Augustine, meets this by explaining it to mean that our Lord, *as sent* from the Father on a mission, was not to reveal all things, but observed a silence and professed an ignorance on those points which it was not good for His brethren to know. *As* Mediator and Prophet He was ignorant. He refers in illustration of this view to such texts as, "I have not *spoken of Myself*, but the Father which sent me, He gave Me commandment *what* I should say and *what* I should speak.... *Whatsoever* I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto Me, *so* I speak." John 12, 49. 50.

Disc. III. in whom God then inquired, that same Son who now is clad in flesh, inquires of the disciples as man? unless forsooth, having become Manichees, you are willing to blame[1] the question then put to Adam, and all that you may give full play[2] to your perverseness.

13. For being exposed on all sides, you still make a whispering[3] from the words of Luke, which are appropriately said, but ill understood by you[4]. And what is this, we must state, that so also their corrupt[5] meaning may be shewn.

§. 51. Now Luke says, *And Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in grace with God and man.* This then is the passage, and since they stumble in it, we are compelled to ask them, as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, of the person concerning whom Luke speaks. And the case stands thus. Is Jesus Christ man, as all other men, or is He God bearing flesh? If then He is an ordinary[6] man as the rest, then let Him, as a man, advance; this however is the sentiment of Samosatene, which virtually indeed you entertain also, though in name you deny it because of men. But if He be God bearing flesh[7], as He truly is, and *the Word became flesh*, and being God descended upon earth, what advance[8] had He who existed equal to God? or how had the Son increase, being ever in the Father? For if He who was ever in the Father, advanced, what, I ask, is there beyond the Father from which His advance might be made? Next it is suitable here to repeat what was said upon the point of His receiving and being glorified. If He advanced[9] when He became man, it is plain that, before He became man, He was imperfect[6]; and rather the flesh became to Him a cause of perfection, than He to the flesh. And again, if, as being the Word, He advances, what has He more to become than Word and Wisdom and Son and God's Power? For the Word is all these, of which if one can any how partake as it were one ray, such a man becomes all-perfect among men, and equal to Angels. For Angels, and Archangels, and Dominions, and all the Powers, and Thrones, as partaking the Word, behold always the face of His Father. How then does He who to others supplies perfection, Himself advance later than they? For Angels even ministered to His human birth[10], and the passage from Luke comes later than the ministration of the Angels. How

[1] p. 189, note a.

[2] παιπάλευσιν, vid. Decr. 18 init. de Fug. 4, b.

[3] τσιμουδιάζετε, vid. Decr. 16.

[4] p. 341, note i.

[5] διεφθαρμένην, p. 484, r. 1.

[6] κοινὸν, p. 446, note q.

[7] σάρκα φορέων

[8] προκοπὴν

[9] vid. supr. p. 108, note l. vid. supr. §. 39. Orat. iv. 11.

[10] γένεσιν

then at all can it even come into thought of man? or how did Wisdom advance in wisdom? or how did He who to others gives grace, (as Paul says in every Epistle[1], knowing that through Him grace is given, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*,) how did He advance in grace? for either let them say that the Apostle is untrue[2], and presume to say that the Son is not Wisdom, or else if He is Wisdom as Solomon has said, and if Paul has written, *Christ God's Power and God's Wisdom*, of what advance did Wisdom admit further?

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[1] p. 417.

[2] ψεύδεται

14. For men, creatures as they are, are capable in a certain way of reaching forward and advancing in virtue[p]. Enoch, for instance, was thus translated, and Moses increased and was perfected; and Isaac *by advancing became great;* and the Apostle said that he *reached forth* day by day to what was before him. For each had room for advancing, looking to the step before him. But the Son of God, who is One and Only, what room had He for reaching forward? for all things advance by looking at Him; and He, being One and Only, is in the Only Father, out of whom never does He reach, but in Him abideth ever[3]. To men then belongs advance; but the Son of God, since He could not advance, being perfect in the Father, humbled Himself for us, that in His humbling we on the other hand might be able to increase. And our increase is no other than the renouncing things sensible, and coming[4] to the Word Himself; since His humbling is nothing else than His taking our flesh. It was not then the Word, considered as the Word[5], who advanced, who is perfect from the perfect Father[6], who needs nothing, nay brings forward others to an advance; but humanly is He here also said to advance, since advance belongs to man[7]. Hence

§. 52.

vid. Gen. 26, 13. προέκοπτον Ath. προέβαινον Sept. vid. Phil. 3, 13.

[3] p. 403, note l.

[4] γενέσθαι εἰς

[5] ὁ λόγος ἦν

p. 291, note l.

[6] τέλ. ὢν τέλ.

p. 331, note p.

[7] vid. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 18.

[p] It is the doctrine of the Church that Christ, as man, was perfect in knowledge from the first, as if ignorance were hardly separable from sin, and were the direct consequence or accompaniment of original sin. "That ignorance," says S. Austin, "I in no wise can suppose existed in that Infant, in whom the Word was made flesh to dwell among us; nor can I suppose that that infirmity of the mind belonged to Christ as a babe, which we see in babes. For in consequence of it, when they are troubled with irrational emotions, no reason, no command, but pain sometimes and the alarm of pain restrains them, &c." de Pecc. Mer. ii. 48. As to the limits of Christ's perfect knowledge as man, Petavius observes, that we must consider "that the soul of Christ knew all things that are or ever will be or ever have been, but not what are only *in posse*, not in fact." Incarn. xi. 3, 6.

Disc. III.

the Evangelist, speaking with cautious exactness [1], has mentioned stature in the advance; but being Word and God He is not measured by stature, which belongs to bodies. Of the body then is the advance; for, it advancing, in it advanced also the manifestation [2] of the Godhead to those who saw it. And, as the Godhead was more and more revealed, by so much more did His grace as man increase before all men. For as a child He was carried to the Temple; and when He became a boy, He remained there, and questioned the priests about the Law. And by degrees His body increasing, and the Word manifesting Himself [3] in it, He is confessed henceforth by Peter first, then also by all, *Truly this is the Son of God;* however wilfully the Jews, both the ancient and these modern [3], blink with their eyes, lest they see that to advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom Itself, but rather the manhood's advance in It. For *Jesus advanced in wisdom and grace;* and, if we may speak what is explanatory as well as true, He advanced in Himself; for *Wisdom hath builded Herself an house,* and in Herself She gave the house advancement. (What moreover [4] is this advance that is spoken of, but, as I said before, the deifying [5] and grace imparted from Wisdom to men, sin being obliterated in them and their inward corruption, according to their likeness and relationship to the flesh of the Word?) For thus, the body increasing in stature, there progressed in and with it the manifestation of the Godhead also, and to all was it displayed that the body was God's Temple [6], and that God was in the body [7].

[1] p. 298, note a.

[2] φανέρωσις, p. 443, note g.

Matt. 16, 16; 27, 54.

[3] p. 282, note a.

§. 53.

[4] isolated sentence.

[5] θεοποίησις, p. 380, note h.

[6] ναὸς θεοῦ, p. 482, r. 4.

[7] p. 296, r. 1.

q It is remarkable, considering the tone of his statements in the present chapter, that here and in what follows Athan. should resolve our Lord's advance in wisdom merely to its gradual manifestation through the flesh; and it increases the proof that his statements are not to be taken in the letter, and as if fully brought out and settled. Naz. says the same, Ep. ad Cled. 101. p. 86. which is the more remarkable since he is chiefly writing against the Apollinarians who considered a φανέρωσις the great end of our Lord's coming; and Cyril. c. Nest. iii. p. 87. Theod. Hor. v. 13. On the other hand, S. Epiphanius speaks of Him as growing in wisdom as man. Hær. 77. p. 1019—24. and S. Ambrose, Incarn. 71—74. Vid. however Ambr. de fid. as quoted supr. p. 465. note f. The Ed. Ben. in Ambr. Incarn. considers the advancement of knowledge spoken of to be that of the "scientia experimentalis" alluded to in Hebr. 5, 8. which is one of the three kinds of knowledge possessed by Christ as man. vid. Berti Opp. t. 3. p. 41. Petavius, however, omits the consideration of this knowledge, which S. Thomas first denied in our Lord, and in his Summa ascribes to Him, as lying beyond his province. "De hac lite neutram in partem pronuntiare audeo. Hujusmodi enim quæstiones ad Scholas relegandæ sunt; de quibus nihil apud antiquos liquidi ac definiti reperitur." Incarn. xi. 4. §. 9.

15. And if they urge, that *The Word become flesh* is called Jesus, and refer to Him the term *advanced*, they must be told that neither does this impair[1] the Father's Light[2], which is the Son, but that it still shews that the Word has become man, and bore true flesh. And as we said[3] that He suffered in the flesh, and hungered in the flesh, and was fatigued in the flesh, so also reasonably may He be said to have advanced in the flesh; for neither did the advance, such as we have described it, take place with the Word external to the flesh, for in Him was the flesh which advanced and His is it called, and that as before, that man's advance might abide[4] and fail not, because of the Word which is with it. Neither then was the advance the Word's, nor was the flesh Wisdom, but the flesh became the body of Wisdom[5]. Therefore, as we have already said, not Wisdom, as Wisdom[6], advanced in respect of Itself; but the manhood advanced in Wisdom, transcending by degrees human nature, and made God[7], and becoming and appearing to all as the organ[8] of Wisdom for the operation and the shining forth[9] of the Godhead. Wherefore neither said he, "The Word advanced," but Jesus, by which Name the Lord was called when He became man; so that the advance is of the human nature in such wise as we have above explained.

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[1] p. 244, r. 1.
[2] p. 424, note o.
[3] p. 448.
[4] p. 380, r. 1.
[5] p. 444, note i.
[6] ἡ σοφία
[7] θεοποιού-
[8] μενον ὄργανον,
[9] p. 443, note g. ἔκλαμ-
ψιν, p. 355, r. 1.

CHAP. XXIX.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; TWELFTHLY, MATTHEW xxvi. 39; JOHN xii. 27. &c.

Arian inferences are against the Regula Fidei, as before. He wept and the like, as man. Other texts prove Him God. God could not fear. He feared because His flesh feared.

Disc. III. §. 54.

1. THEREFORE as, when the flesh advanced, He is said to have advanced, because the body was proper[1] to Him, so also what is said at the season of His death, that He was troubled, that He wept, must be taken in the same sense[2]. For they, going up and down[3], as if thereby recommending their heresy anew, allege; "Behold, *He wept*, and said, *Now is My soul troubled*, and He besought that the cup might pass away; how then, if He so spoke, is He God, and Word of the Father?" Yea, it is written that He wept, O God's enemies, and that He said, "I am troubled," and on the Cross He said, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*, that is, *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* and He besought that the cup might pass away. Thus certainly it is written; but again I would ask you, (for the same rejoinder must of necessity be made to each of your objections[4],) If the speaker is mere[5] man, let him weep and fear death, as being man; but if He is the Word in flesh[6], (for one must not be reluctant to repeat[4],) whom had He to fear being God? or wherefore should He fear death, who was Himself Life, and was rescuing others from death? or how, whereas He said, "Fear not him that kills the body," should He Himself fear him? And how should He who said to Abraham, *Fear not, for I am with thee*, and encouraged Moses against Pharaoh, and said to the son of Nave, *Be strong, and of a good courage*, Himself feel terror before Herod and Pilate? Further, He who succours others against

[1] ἰδίστητα

[2] διανοίᾳ, p. 437, r. 6. et passim.

[3] ἄνω καὶ κάτω, vid. p. 22, note y. p. 328, note k.

[4] p. 394, note g.

[5] ψιλός.

[6] p. 475, r. 1.

John 11, 35. John 12, 27. Mat. 26, 39. Mark 15, 34. Luke 12, 4. Gen. 15, 1; 26, 24. Exod. 4. Josh. 1, 6.

fear, (for *the Lord*, says Scripture, *is on my side, I will not fear what man doeth unto me*,) did He fear governors, mortal men? did He who Himself was come against death, feel terror of death? Is it not both extravagant and irreligious to say that He was terrified at death or hell, whom the keepers of hell's gates[1] saw and shuddered? But if, as you would hold, the Word was in terror, wherefore, when He spoke long before of the conspiracy of the Jews, did He not flee, nay said when actually sought, *I am He?* for He could have avoided death, as He said, *I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it again;* and *No one taketh it from Me*[2]. CHAP. XXIX. Ps. 118, 6. [1] supr. p. 83. infr. p. 479. John 18, 5; 10, 18. [2] p. 431, note e.

2. But these affections were not proper to the nature of the Word, as far as He was Word[3]; but in the flesh which was thus affected was the Word, O Christ's enemies and unthankful Jews! For He said not all this prior to the flesh; but when the *Word became flesh*, and became man, then is it written that He said this, that is, humanly. Surely He of whom this is written, was He who raised Lazarus from the dead, and made the water wine, and vouchsafed sight to the man born blind, and said, *I and My Father are one.* If then they make His human attributes a ground for grovelling thoughts concerning the Son of God, nay consider Him altogether man from the earth, and not[4] from heaven, wherefore not from His divine works recognise the Word who is in the Father, and henceforward renounce their self-willed[5] irreligion? For they are given to see, how He who did the works, is the same as He who shewed that His body was passible by His permitting[a] it to weep and hunger, and to §. 55. [3] p. 291, note l. John 10, 30. [4] ἄνθρωπον ὅλον, Orat. iv. 35 fin. [5] ἴδιαν p. 256, note o.

[a] This our Lord's suspense or permission, at His will, of the operations of His manhood is a great principle in the doctrine of the Incarnation. "That He might give proof of His human nature," says Theophylact, on John 11, 34. "He allowed It to do its own work, and chides It and rebukes It by the power of the Holy Spirit. The Flesh then, not bearing the rebuke, is troubled and trembles and gets the better of Its grief." And S. Cyril: "When grief began to be stirred in Him, and His sacred flesh was on the verge of tears, He suffers it not to be affected freely, as is our custom, but 'He was vehement (ἐνεβριμήσατο) in the Spirit,' that is, He in some way chides His own Flesh in the power of the Holy Ghost; and It, not bearing the movement of the Godhead united to It, trembles, &c.....For this I think is the meaning of "troubled Himself.'" fragm. in Joan. p. 685. Sensus corporei vigebant sine lege peccati, et veritas affectionum sub moderamine Deitatis et mentis. Leon. Ep. 35, 3. "Thou art troubled against thy will; Christ is troubled, because He willed it. Jesus hungered, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus slept, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus sorrowed, yes, but because He willed it; Jesus died, yes, but because He willed it.

Disc. III. shew other properties of a body. For while by means of such He made it known that God, though impassible, had taken a passible flesh; yet from the works He shewed Himself the Word of God, who had afterwards become man, saying, "Though ye believe not Me, beholding Me clad in a human body, yet believe the works, that ye may know that *I am in the Father and the Father in Me.*" And Christ's enemies seem to me to shew plain shamelessness and blasphemy; for, when they read *I and the Father are one*, they violently distort the sense, and separate the unity of the Father and the Son; but reading of His tears or sweat or sufferings, they do not advert to His body, but on account of these rank in the creation Him by whom the creation was made. What then is left for them to differ from the Jews in? for as the Jews blasphemously ascribed God's works to Beelzebub, so also will these, ranking with the creatures the Lord who wrought those works, undergo the same condemnation as theirs without mercy. But they ought, when they read *I and the Father are one*, to see in Him the oneness of the Godhead and the propriety of the Father's Substance; and again when they read, *He wept* and the like, to say that these are proper to the body; especially since on each side they have an intelligible ground, viz. that this is written as of God and that with reference to His manhood. For in the incorporeal, the properties of body had not been, unless He had taken a body corruptible and mortal[1]; for mortal was Holy Mary, from whom was His body. Wherefore of necessity when He was in a body suffering, and weeping, and toiling, these things which are proper to the flesh, are ascribed to Him together with the body. If then He wept and was troubled, it was not the Word, considered as the Word[2], who wept and was troubled, but it was proper to the flesh; and if too He besought that the cup might pass away, it was not the Godhead that was in terror, but this affection too was proper to the manhood.

John 10, 38; 14, 10.

John 10, 30.

§. 56.

[1] p. 241-3. notes h and i. p. 375, note u. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 9. Tertull. de Carn. Chr. 6.

[2] ἡ λόγος

It was in His power to be affected so or so, or not to be affected." Aug. in Joan. xlix. 18. vid. infr. p. 481, note e. The Eutychians perverted this doctrine, as if it implied that our Lord was not subject to the laws of human nature; vid. supr. p. 243, note i. and that He suffered *merely* "by permission of the Word." Leont. ap. Canis. t. 1. p. 563. In like manner Marcion or Manes said that His "flesh appeared from heaven in resemblance, ὡς φάντασιν." Athan. contr. Apoll. ii. 3.

3. And that the words *Why hast Thou forsaken Me?* are His, according to the foregoing explanations; though He suffered nothing, (for the Word was impassible,) is notwithstanding declared by the Evangelists; since the Lord became man, and these things are done and said as from a man, that He might Himself lighten[1] these very sufferings of the flesh, and free it from them[2]. Whence neither can the Lord be forsaken by the Father, who is ever in the Father, both before He spoke, and when He uttered these words. Nor is it lawful to say that the Lord was in terror, at whom the keepers of hell's gates shuddered[3] and set open hell, and the graves did gape, and many bodies of the saints arose and appeared to their own people[4]. Therefore be every heretic dumb, nor dare to ascribe terror to the Lord whom death, as a serpent, flees, at whom devils tremble, and the sea is in alarm; for whom the heavens are rent and all the powers are shaken. For behold when He says, *Why hast Thou forsaken Me*, the Father shewed that He was ever and even then in Him; for the earth knowing its Lord[5] who spoke, straightway trembled, and the vail was rent, and the sun was hidden, and the rocks were torn asunder, and the graves, as I have said, did gape, and the dead in them arose; and, what is wonderful, they who were then present and had before denied Him, then seeing these signs, confessed that *truly He was the Son of God*[b].

CHAP. XXIX.

[1] pp. 448, 9, notes z and a.

[2] p. 360, note g.

[3] pp. 83. 477.

[4] vid. Mat. 27, 52. 53. similar passage In illud Omn. 2. c.

[5] διατα- γὴν, p. 420, r. 2.

vid. Mat. 27, 54.

[b] Vid. p. 303 init. p. 450, note b. "Each form acts, in communion with the other, those acts which belong to itself; the Word working what is the Word's, and the flesh executing what is of the flesh. One of them is glorious in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries.... He is One and the Same, truly Son of God, and truly Son of man ....It belongs not to the same nature to weep with pity over a dead friend, and removing the stone of a fourth-day burial, to rouse him to life at the bidding of His voice; or to hang on the wood, and to turn day into night and make the elements shudder; or to be pierced through with nails, and to open the gates of paradise to the faith of the robber, &c." Leo's Tome, (Ep. 28.) 4. "The flesh is of a passible nature, but the Word of an operative....Neither does the human nature quicken Lazarus, nor does the impassible Power weep over him in the grave; but the tear is proper to the man, and the life to the True Life. Human poverty doth not feed the thousands, nor doth Almighty Power run to the fig-tree. Who is the wearied from His journeying, and who the giver of subsistence to the universe without effort? What is that outstreaming of glory, what that nailed thing? What form is buffetted upon His passion, and what form is glorified from everlasting, &c." Nyssen. contr. Eunom. iv. p. 161. "When He wept dead Lazarus, He wept as a man; but He was more than a man, when He bade the dead shake off his fetters and come forth. He was seen as a man when He hung at the cross, but as more than a man when He unlocked the tombs and raised the dead." Ambros. Epist. i. 46. n. 7. vid. Hil. Trin. x. 48. Also vid. Athan. Sent. D. 9 fin. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 24.

Disc. III. §. 57. Matt. 16, 23. Ἰδιώτικα, p. 457, r. l. p. 458, note c.

4. And as to His saying, *If it be possible, let the cup pass*, observe how, though He thus spake, He rebuked[1] Peter, saying, *Thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.* For He willed[c] what He deprecated, for therefore had He come; but His was the willing, (for for it He came,) but the terror belonged to the flesh. Wherefore as man He utters this speech also, and yet both were said by the Same, to shew that He was God, willing in Himself, but when He had become man, having a flesh that was in terror. For the sake of this flesh He combined His own will with human weakness[d], that destroying this affection He might in

c "I say not, perish the thought, that there are two wills in Christ at variance with each other, as you consider, and in opposition; nor at all a will of flesh, or of passion, or evil ..But, since it was perfect man that He took on Him, that He might save him whole, and He is perfect in manhood, therefore we call that sovereign disposal of His orders and commands by the name of the Divine will in Christ, and we understand by human will the intellectual soul's power of willing, given it after the image and likeness of God, and breathed into it by God, when it was made, by means of this power to prefer and to obey, and to do the divine will and the divine orders. If then the soul of Christ was destitute of the power of reason, will, and preference, it is not indeed after the image of God, nor consubstantial with our souls....and Christ cannot be called perfect in manhood. Christ then, being in the form of God, has according to the Godhead that lordly will which is common in Father and Holy Ghost; and, as having taken the form of a servant, He does also the will of His intellectual and immaculate soul, &c.....Else if this will be taken away, He will according to the Godhead be subject, and fulfil the Father's will as a servant....as if there were two wills in the Godhead of Father and of Son, the Father's that of a Lord, the Son's that of a servant." Anast. Hodeg. i. p. 12.

d It is observable that, as elsewhere we have seen Athan. speak of the *nature* of the Word, and of, not the *nature* of man as united to Him, but of *flesh, humanity*, &c. (vid. p. 345, note g.) so here, instead of speaking of two wills, he speaks of the Word's *willing* and human *weakness, terror*, &c. In another place he says still more pointedly, "The *will* was of the Godhead alone; since the whole *nature* of the Word was manifested in the second Adam's *human form* and visible *flesh*." contr. Apoll. ii. 10. Yet elsewhere, he distinctly expresses the Catholic view; "When He says, 'Father, if it be possible, &c.' and 'the spirit is willing, &c.' He mentions *two* wills, the one human, which belongs to the flesh, the other Divine, which belongs to God; for the human, because of the weakness of the flesh, prays against the passion, but His divine will is ready." de Incarn. c. Ar. 21. S. Leo on the same passage begins like Athan. in the text vaguely, but ends, as in Athan.'s second passage, distinctly; "The first request is one of infirmity, the second of power; the first He asked in our [character], the second in His own....The inferior will gave way to the superior, &c. Serm. 56, 2. vid. a similar passage in Nyssen. Antirrh. adv. Apol. 32. vid. also 31. An obvious objection may be drawn from such passages, as if the will "of the flesh" were represented as contrary (vid. foregoing note) to the will of the Word. It is remarkable, as Petavius observes, Incarn. ix. 9. that Athan. compares (as in the text) the influence of our Lord's divine will on His human, in the passage from the Incarn. quoted above, to His rebuke of S. Peter, "Get thee behind Me, &c." vid. supr. p. 477, note a. But this is but an analogous instance, not a direct resemblance. The whole of our Lord's prayer is offered by Him as man, because it is a prayer; the first part is not from Him as man, but the second which corrects it is from Him

turn make man undaunted in the thought of death. Behold then a thing strange indeed! He to whom Christ's enemies impute words of terror, He by that so-called[1] terror renders men undaunted and fearless. And so the Blessed Apostles after Him from such words of His conceived so great a contempt of death, as not even to care for those who questioned them, but to answer, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* And the other Holy Martyrs were so bold, as to think that they were rather passing to life than undergoing death. Is it not extravagant then, to admire the courage of the servants of the Word, yet to say that the Word Himself was in terror, through whom they despised death? But from that most enduring purpose and courage of the Holy Martyrs is shewn, that the Godhead was not in terror, but the Saviour took away our terror. For as He abolished death by death, and by human means all human evils, so by this so-called[1] terror did He remove our terror, and brought about that never more should men fear death. His word and deed go together. For human were the sounds, *Let the cup pass,* and *Why hast Thou forsaken Me?* and divine the act whereby the Same did cause the sun to fail and the dead to rise. Again He said humanly, *Now is My soul troubled;* and He said divinely, *I have power to lay down My life, and power to take it again.* For to be troubled was proper to the flesh, and to have power to lay down His life[e] and take it again,

CHAP. XXIX.

[1] νομιζο. μένης. vid. Orat. i. 10. c. p. 339, r. 4.

Acts 5, 29.

John 12, 27; 10, 18.

as God; but the former part is from the sinless infirmity of our nature, the latter from His human will expressing its acquiescence in His Father's, that is, in His Divine Will. "His Will," says S. Greg. Naz. "was not contrary to God, being all deified, ἀνθρὴ ὅλον."

[e] This might be taken as an illustration of the ut voluit supr. p. 243, note i. And so the expressions in the Evangelists, "Into Thy hands I *commend* My Spirit," "He *bowed the head*," "He *gave up* the ghost," are taken to imply that His death was His free act. vid. Ambros. in loc. Luc. Hieron. in loc. Matt. also Athan. Serm. Maj. de Fid. 4. It is Catholic doctrine that our Lord, as man, submitted to death of His free will, and not as obeying an express command of the Father. "Who," says S. Chrysostom on John 10, 18. "has not power to lay down His own life? for any one who will may kill himself. But He says not this, but how? 'I have power to lay it down in such sense that no one can do it against My will....I alone have the disposal of My life, which is not true of us." And still more appositely Theophylact, "It was open to Him not to suffer, not to die; for being without sin, He was not subject to death ....If then He had not been willing, He had not been crucified." in Hebr. 12, 2. "Since this punishment is contained in the death of the body, that the soul, because it has deserted God with its will, deserts the body against its will....the soul of the Mediator proved, how utterly clear of the punishment of sin was its coming to the death of the flesh, in that it did not desert it unwillingly, but because it willed, and when it willed, and as it willed....

Disc. III. when He will, was no property of men but of the Word's power. For man dies, not by his own power, but by necessity of nature and against his will; but the Lord, being Himself immortal, but having a mortal flesh, had power, as God, to become separate from the body and to take it again, when He would. Concerning this too speaks David in the Psalm, *Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell, neither shalt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* For it beseemed, that the flesh, corruptible as it was, should no longer after its own nature remain mortal, but because of the Word who had put it on, should abide incorruptible. For as He, having come in our body, was conformed[1] to our condition, so we, receiving Him, partake of the immortality that is from Him.

Ps. 16, 11.

[1] ἐμιμήσατο

§. 58. 5. Idle then is the excuse for stumbling, and narrow the notions concerning the Word, of these Ario-maniacs, because it is written, *He was troubled*, and *He wept*. For they seem not even to have human feeling, if they are thus ignorant of man's nature and properties; which do but make it the greater wonder, that the Word should be in such a suffering flesh, and neither prevented those who were conspiring against Him, nor took vengeance of those who were putting Him to death, though He was able, He who hindered some from dying, and raised others from the dead. And He let His own body suffer, for therefore did He come, as I said before, that in the flesh He might suffer, and thenceforth the flesh might be made impassible and immortal[2], and that, as we have many times said, contumely and other troubles might determine upon Him and come short of others after Him, being by Him annulled utterly; and that henceforth men might for ever abide[3] incorruptible, as a temple of the Word[4]. Had Christ's enemies thus dwelt on these thoughts, and recognised the ecclesiastical scope as an anchor for the faith, they would not have of the faith made shipwreck, nor been so shameless as to resist those who would fain recover them from their fall, and to deem those as enemies who are admonishing them to be religious[f].

[2] p. 374, note t.

[3] διαμένωσι, p. 380, r. 1.

[4] p. 474, r. 6.

And this did they specially admire, who were present, says the Gospel, that after that work, in which He set forth a figure of our sin, He forthwith gave up the ghost. For crucified men were commonly tortured by a lingering death.... But He was a wonder, (miraculo fuit,) because He was found dead." August. de Trin. iv. 16.

[f] Thus ends the exposition of texts, which forms the body of these Orations. It is remarkable that he ends as he

began, with reference to the ecclesiastical scope, or Regula Fidei, which has so often come under our notice, vid. p. 328, note l. p. 341, note i. as if distinctly to tell us, that Scripture did not so force its meaning on the individual as to dispense with an interpreter, and as if his own deductions were not to be viewed merely in their own logical power, great as that power often is, but as under the authority of the Catholic doctrines which they subserve. Vid. p. 426, n. 14 fin. It is hardly a paradox to say that in patristical works of controversy the conclusion in a certain sense proves the premisses. As then he here speaks of the ecclesiastical scope "as an anchor for the faith;" so supr. p. 233. where the discussion of texts began, he introduces it by saying, in accordance with the above remark, "since they allege the divine oracles and force on them a misinterpretation *according to their private sense*, it becomes necessary to meet them *just so far* as to *lay claim* to these passages, and to shew that they bear an orthodox sense, and that our opponents are in error." Again supr. p. 410. he says, "What is the difficulty, that one must need take such a view of such passages?" He speaks of the σκόπος as a κανὼν or rule of interpretation, supr. §. 28. vid. also §. 29 init. 35, c. Serap. ii. 7, a. Hence too he speaks of the "ecclesiastical sense," e. g. Orat. i. 44. Serap. iv. 15. and of the φρόνημα Orat. ii. 31 init. Decr. 17 fin. In ii. p. 326. supr. he makes the general or Church view of Scripture supersede inquiry into the force of particular illustrations.

CHAP. XXX.

OBJECTIONS CONTINUED, AS IN CHAPTERS vii—x.

Whether the Son is begotten of the Father's will? This virtually the same as whether once He was not? and used by the Arians to introduce the latter question. The Regula Fidei answers it at once in the negative by contrary texts. The Arians follow the Valentinians in maintaining a precedent will; which really is only exercised by God towards creatures. Instances from Scripture. Inconsistency of Asterius. If the Son by will, there must be another Word before Him. If God is good, or exist, by His will, then is the Son by His will. If He willed to have reason or wisdom, then is His Word and Wisdom at His will. The Son is the Living Will, and has all titles which denote connaturality. That will which the Father has to the Son, the Son has to the Father. The Father wills the Son and the Son wills the Father.

Disc III.

1. But[a], as it seems, a heretic is a wicked thing in truth, and in every respect his heart is depraved[1] and irreligious. For behold, though convicted on all points, and shewn to be utterly bereft of understanding, they feel no shame; but as the hydra[2] of Gentile fable, when its former serpents were destroyed, gave birth to fresh ones, contending against the slayer of the old by the production of new, so also they, hostile[b] and hateful to God[3], as hydras[4], losing their life in the objections which they advance, invent for themselves other questions Judaic and foolish, and new expedients, as if Truth were their enemy, thereby to shew the rather that they are Christ's opponents in all things. After so many proofs against them, at which even the devil who is their father[5] had himself been abashed and gone back, again as from their perverse heart they mutter forth other expedients, sometimes in whispers,

[1] διεφθαρμένην, p. 485, r. 4. p. 472, r. 3. Serap. i. 18, e.

[2] p. 485, r. 5.

[3] θεοστυγεῖς, p. 424, r. 2.

[4] p. 492, note p. §. 59.

[5] p. 386, r. 1.

[a] This chapter is in a very different style from the foregoing portions of this Book, and much more resembles the former two; not only in its subject and the mode of treating it, but in the words introduced, e. g. ἰσταστίζουσι, ἰστησοῦσι, γογγύζουσι, καθ' ὑμᾶς, ἄτοπον, λιξείδιον, εἷς τῶν πάντων, &c. And the references are to the former Orations.

[b] θεομάχοι vid. p. 6, note n. p. 325, note d. Vid. Dissert. by Bucher on the word in Acts 5, 39. ap. Thesaur. Theol. Phil. N. T. t. 2.

sometimes with the drone[c] of gnats; "Be it so," say they; "interpret these places thus, and gain the victory in reasonings and proofs; still you must say that the Son has been begotten by the Father at His will and pleasure;" for thus they deceive many, putting forward the will and the pleasure of God. Now if any orthodox believer[d] were to say this in simplicity[1], there would be no cause to be suspicious of the expression, the orthodox intention[2] prevailing over that somewhat simple use of words[e]. But since the phrase is from the heretics[f], and the words of heretics are suspicious, and, as it is written, *The wicked are deceitful*, and *The words of the wicked are deceit*, even though they but make signs[3], for their heart is depraved[4], come let us examine this phrase also, lest, though convicted on all sides, still, as hydras[5], they invent a fresh word, and by such clever language and specious evasion, they scatter again that irreligion of theirs in another way. For he who says, "The Son came to be at the Divine will," has the same meaning as another who says, "Once He was not," and "The Son came to be out of nothing," and "He is a creature." But since they are now ashamed of these phrases, these crafty ones have endeavoured to convey their meaning in another way, putting forth the word "will," as cuttlefish their blackness, thereby to benighten the innocent[6], and to make sure of their peculiar[7] heresy.

[1] ἁπλούστερον p. 433, r. 3.
[2] διανοίας interpretation, p. 437, r. 6.
[3] Prov. 12, 5. 6. Sept.
[4] p. 34.
[5] p. 484, r. 1.
[6] p. 484, r. 2.
[6] ἀκεραίους Hist. T. p. 299, note g.
[7] ἰδίας

[c] περιβομβοῦσι. p. 22, note y. Also de fug. 2, 6. Naz. Orat. 27, 2. c.

[d] S. Ignatius speaks of our Lord as "Son of God according to the will (θέλημα) and power of God." ad Smyrn. 1. S. Justin as "God and Son according to His will, βουλὴν." Tryph. 127. and "begotten from the Father at His will, θελήσει." ibid. 61. and he says, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ. ibid. 128. S. Clement "issuing from the Father's will itself quicker than light." Gent. 10 fin. S. Hippolytus, "Whom God the Father, willing, βουληθείς, begat as He willed, ὡς ἠθέλησεν." contr. Noet. 16. Origen, ἐκ θελήματος. ap. Justin ad. Menn. vid. also cum filius charitatis etiam voluntatis. Periarch. iv. 28.

[e] In like manner he says elsewhere, "Had these expositions of theirs proceeded from the orthodox, from such as the great confessor Hosius, Maximinus, Philogonius, Eustathius, Julius, &c." Ep. Æg. 8. and supr. "Terms do not disparage His Nature; rather that Nature draws to Itself those terms and changes them." p. 285. Also de Mort. Ar. fin. Vid. supr. p. 17, note m. And vid. Leont. contr. Nest. iii. 41. (p. 581. Canis.) He here seems alluding to the Semi-Arians, Origen, and perhaps the earlier Fathers.

[f] Of these Tatian had said θελήματι προσηδξ ὁ λόγος. Gent. 5. Tertullian had said, Ut primum voluit Deus ea edere, ipsum primum protulit sermonem. adv. Prax. 6. Novatian, Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, Sermo filius natus est. de Trin. 31. And Constit. Apost. τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα. vii. 41. Pseudo-Clem. Genuit Deus voluntate præcedente. Recognit. iii. 10. Eusebius, κατὰ γνώμην καὶ προαίρεσιν βουληθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. Dem. iv. 3. Arius, θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ ὑπέστη. ap. Theod. Hist. i. 4. p. 750. vid. also supr. p. 97.

Disc. III.

2. For whence[g] bring they "by will and pleasure?" or from what Scripture? let them say who are so suspicious in their words and so inventive of irreligion. For the Father who revealed from heaven His own Word, declared, *This is My beloved Son;* and by David He said, *My heart has burst with a good Word;* and John He bade say, *In the beginning was the Word;* and David says in the Psalm, *With Thee is the well of life, and in Thy light shall we see light;* and the Apostle[1] writes, *Who being the Radiance of Glory,* and again, *Who being in the form of God,* and, *Who is the Image of the invisible God.* All every where tell us of the being of the Word, but none of His being "by will," or at all of His making; but they, where, I ask, did they find will or pleasure "precedent[h]" to the Word of God, unless forsooth, leaving the Scriptures, they simulate the perverseness[2] of Valentinus? For Ptolemy the Valentinian said that the Ingenerate had a pair[3] of attributes, Thought and Will, and first He thought

Matt. 3, 17. Ps. 45, 1. John 1, 1. Ps. 36, 9.

[1] p. 131, note d.

§. 60.

[2] κακόνοιαν

[3] δύο ζυγούς, Cotelier corr. συζύγους

[g] And so supr. p. 30. "by what Saint have they been taught 'at will?'" That is, no one ever taught it in the sense in which *they* explained it; thus he has just said, "He who says 'at will,' has the same meaning as he who says 'Once He was not.'" Again infr. "Since it is all one to say 'at will' and 'Once He was not,' let them make up their minds to say 'Once He was not.'" p. 488; also pp. 492, 495. Certainly as the earlier Fathers had used the phrase, so those which came after Arius. Thus Nyssen in the passage in contr. Eum. vii. referred to in the next note. And S. Hilary, "Nativitatis perfecta natura est, ut qui ex substantiâ Dei natus est, etiam ex consilio ejus et voluntate nascatur." Hilar. Syn. 37. The same father says, unitate Patris et virtute. Psalm 91, 8. and ut voluit, ut potuit, ut scit qui genuit. Trin. iii. 4. And he addresses Him as non invidum bonorum tuorum in Unigeniti tui nativitate. ibid. vi. 21. S. Basil too speaks of our Lord as αὐτοζωὴν καὶ αὐτοάγαθον, "from the quickening Fountain, the Father's goodness, ἀγαθότητος." contr. Eum. ii. 25. And Cæsarius calls Him ἀγάπην πατρός. Quæst. 39. Vid. Ephrem. Syr. adv. Scrut. R. vi. 1. O.T. and note there. Maximus Taurin. says, that God is per omnipotentiam Pater. Hom. de trad. Symb. p. 270. ed. 1784. vid. also Chrysol. Serm. 61. Ambros. de Fid. iv. 8. Petavius refers in addition to such passages as one just quoted from S. Hilary, as speak of God as not invidus, so as not to communicate Himself, since He was able. Si non potuit, infirmus; si voluit, invidus. August. contr. Maxim. iii. 7.

[h] προηγουμένην and 61 fin. The antecedens voluntas has been mentioned in Recogn. Clem. supr. note f. For Ptolemy vid. Epiph. Hær. p. 215. The Catholics, who allowed that our Lord was θελήσει, explained it as a σύνδρομος θέλησις, and not a προηγουμένη; as Cyril. Trin. ii. p. 56. And with the same meaning S. Ambrose, nec voluntas ante Filium nec potestas. de Fid. v. 224. And S. Gregory Nyssen, "His immediate union, ἄμεσος συνάφεια, does not exclude the Father's will, βούλησιν, nor does that will separate the Son from the Father." contr. Eunom. vii. p. 206, 7. vid. the whole passage. The alternative which these words, σύνδρομος and προηγουμένη, expressed was this; whether an act of Divine Purpose or Will took place *before* the Generation of the Son, or whether both the Will and the Generation were eternal, as the Divine Nature was eternal. Hence Bull says, with the view of exculpating Novatian, Cum Filius dicitur ex Patre, quando ipse voluit, nasci, velle illud Patris æternum fuisse intelligendum." Defens. F. N. iii. 8. §. 8.

and then He willed; and what He thought, He could not put forth[1], unless when the power of the Will was added. Thence the Arians taking a lesson, wish will and pleasure to precede the Word. For them then, let them rival the doctrine of Valentinus; but we, when we read the divine discourses, found *He was* applied to the Son, but of Him only did we hear as being in the Father and the Father's Image; while in the case of things generate only, since also by nature these things once were not, but afterwards came to be[2], did we recognise a precedent will and pleasure, David saying in the hundred and thirteenth Psalm, *As for our God He is in heaven, He hath done whatsoever pleased Him*, and in the hundred and tenth, *The works of the Lord are great, sought out unto all His good pleasure;* and again, in the hundred[3] and thirty-fourth, *Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did He in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, and in all deep places.*

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[1] προβάλλειν, de-velope, p. 97, note h.

[2] ἰστέον, p. 216, r. 4. p. 222, r. 1. p. 406, r. 7.

Ps. 115, 3.

Ps. 111, 2. Sept.

[3] ἐναντίῳ om.

3. If then He be work and thing made, and one among others[4], let Him, as others, be said "by will" to have come to be, and Scripture shews that these are thus brought into being. And Asterius, the hired pleader[5] for the heresy, acquiesces, when he thus writes, "For if it be unworthy of the Framer of all, to make at pleasure, let His being pleased be removed equally in the case of all, that His Majesty be preserved unimpaired. Or if it be befitting God to will, then let this better way obtain in the case of the first Offspring. For it is not possible that it should be fitting for one and the same God to make things at His pleasure, and not at His will also." In spite of the Sophist having introduced abundant irreligion in his words, namely, that the Offspring and the thing made are the same, and that the Son is one offspring out of all offsprings that are, He ends with the conclusion that it is fitting to say that the works are by will and pleasure. Therefore if He be other than all things, as has been above shewn[6], and through Him the works rather came to be, let not "by will" be applied to Him, or He has similarly come to be as the things consist which through Him come to be. For Paul, whereas he was not before, became afterwards an Apostle *by the will of God;* and our own calling, as itself once not being, but now taking place afterwards[7], is preceded by will, and, as Paul himself says again, has been made *according to the good*

Ps. 135, 6.

[4] εἷς τῶν πάντων

[5] ζωπύρου, p. 401, r. 1.

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[6] e. g. ch. xvi—xviii.

1 Cor. 1, 1.

[7] ἱστέον. μέση

Eph. 1, 5.

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pleasure of His will. And what Moses relates, *Let there be light,* and *Let the earth appear,* and *Let Us make man,* is I think, according to what has gone before[1], significant of the will of the Agent. For things which once were not but happened afterwards from external causes, these the Framer counsels[2] to make; but His proper Word begotten from Him by nature, concerning Him He did not counsel[2] beforehand; for in Him the Father makes, in Him frames, other things whatever He counsels[2]; as also James the Apostle teaches, saying, *Of His own will*[3] *begat He us with the Word of truth.* Therefore the Will[4] of God concerning all things, whether they be begotten again or are brought into being at the first, is in His Word, in whom He both makes and begets again what seems right to Him; as the Apostle[5] again signifies, writing to the Thessalonians; *for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you.*

[1] supr. ch. xviii.

[2] βουλεύεται

[3] βουλήσεις. James 1, 18.

[4] βούλησις

[5] p. 131, note d. 1 Thes. 5, 18.

4. But if, in whom He makes, in Him also is the will, and in Christ is the pleasure of the Father, how can He, as others, come into being by will and pleasure? For if He too came to be, as you maintain, by will, it follows that the will concerning Him consists in some other Word, through whom He in turn comes to be; for it has been shewn that God's will is not in the things which He brings into being, but in Him through whom and in whom all things made are brought to be. Next, since it is all one to say "By will" and "Once He was not," let them make up their minds to say, "Once He was not," that, perceiving with shame that times are signified by the latter, they may understand that to say "by will" is to place times before the Son; for counselling goes before things which once were not, as in the case of all creatures. But if the Word is the Framer of the creatures, and He co-exists with the Father, how can to counsel precede the Everlasting as if He were not? for if counsel[6] precedes, how through Him are all things? For rather He too, as one among others[7] is by will begotten to be a Son, as we too were made sons by the Word of Truth; and it rests, as was said, to seek another Word, through whom He too was brought to be, and was begotten together with all things, which were according to God's pleasure.

[6] βουλὴ

[7] εἷς τῶν πάντων

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5. If then there is another Word of God, then be the Son brought into being by a Word; but if there be not, as is the

case, but all things by Him were brought to be, which the Father has willed, does not this expose the many-headed[1] craftiness of these men? that feeling shame at saying "work," and "creature," and "God's Word was not before His generation," yet in another way they assert that He is a creature, putting forward "will," and saying, "Unless He has by will come to be, therefore God had a Son by necessity and against His good pleasure." And who is it then who imposes necessity on Him, O men most wicked, who draw every thing to the purpose of your heresy? for what is contrary to will they see; but what is greater and transcends[2] it, has escaped their perception. For as what is beside purpose is contrary to will, so what is according to nature transcends and precedes counselling[3]. A man by counsel[4] builds a house, but by nature he begets a son; and what is in building at will began to come into being, and is external to the maker; but the son is proper offspring of the father's substance, and is not external to him; wherefore neither does he counsel concerning him, lest he appear to counsel about himself. As far then as the Son transcends the creature, by so much does what is by nature transcend the will[k]. They then, on hearing of Him, ought

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[1] p. 492, note p.

[2] ὑπερκείμενον

[3] βουλεύεται

[4] βουλευτόν

[1] Thus he makes the question a nugatory one, as if it did not go to the point, and could not be answered, or might be answered either way, as the case might be. Really Nature and Will go together in the Divine Being, but in order, as we regard Him, Nature is first, Will second, and the generation belongs to Nature, not to Will. And so supr. "A work is external to the nature, but a son is the proper offspring of the substance. The workman frames the work when he will; but an offspring is not subject to the will, but is proper to the substance." p. 222. Again; "Whereas they deny what is by nature, do they not blush to place before it what is by will? If they attribute to God the willing about things which are not, why recognise they not that in God which lies above the will? now it is a something that surpasses will that He should be by nature, and should be Father of His proper Word." p. 284. In like manner S. Epiphanius: "He begat Him neither willing θέλων nor not willing, but in nature, which is above will, βουλήν. For He has the nature of the Godhead, neither needing will, nor acting without will." Hær. 69, 26. vid. also Ancor. 51. vid. also Ambros. de Fid. iv. 4. vid. others, as collected in Petav. Trin. vi. 8. §. 14—16.

[k] Two distinct meanings may be attached to "by will," (as Dr. Clark observes, Script. Doct. p. 142. ed. 1738.) either a concurrence or acquiescence, or a positive act. S. Cyril uses it in the former sense, when he calls it σύνθεσμος, as quoted p. 486, note h; and when he says (with Athan. infr.) that "the Father wills His own subsistence, θελητής ἐστι, but is not what He is from any will, ἐκ βουλήσεως τινός," Thes. p. 56.; Dr. Clark would understand it in the latter sense, with a view of inferring that the Son was subsequent to a Divine act, i. e. not eternal; but what Athan. says leads to the conclusion, that it does not matter which sense is taken. He does not meet the Arian objection, "if not by will therefore by necessity," by speaking of a concomitant will, or merely saying that the Almighty exists or is good, by will, with S. Cyril, but he says that "nature *transcends* will and necessity also." Accordingly, Petavius

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not to measure by will what is by nature; forgetting however that they are hearing about God's Son, they dare to apply human contrarieties in the instance of God, "necessity" and "beside purpose," to be able thereby to deny that there is a true Son of God.

6. For let them tell us themselves,—that God is good and merciful, does this attach to Him by will or not? if by will, we must consider that He began to be good, and that His not being good is possible; for to counsel and choose implies an inclination[1] two ways, and is the property[2] of a rational nature. But if it be too extravagant that He should be called good and merciful upon will, then what they have said themselves must be retorted on them,—"therefore by necessity and not at His pleasure He is good;" and, "who is it which imposes this necessity on Him?" But if it be extravagant to speak of necessity in the case of God, and therefore it is by nature that He is good, much more is He, and more truly, Father of the Son by nature and not by will. Moreover let them answer us this:—(for against their recklessness I wish to urge a further question, bold indeed, but with a religious intent; be propitious, O Lord[1]!)—the Father Himself, does He exist, first having counselled[3], then being pleased, or before counselling? For since they are as bold in the instance of the Word, they must receive the like answer, that they may know that this their presumption reaches even to the Father Himself. If then they shall themselves take counsel about will, and say that even He is from will, what then was He before He counselled, or what gained He, as ye consider, after counselling? But if such a question be extravagant and self-destructive[4], and shocking[5] even to ask, (for it is enough only to hear God's Name for us to know and understand that He is He that Is,) will it not also be against reason[6] to have parallel thoughts concerning the Word of God, and to make pretences of will and pleasure? for it is enough in like manner

[1] ῥοπὴν, p. 495 r. l.

[2] πάθος

§. 63.

[3] βουλευσάμενος

[4] ἀσύστατος

[5] οὐ θέμις

[6] ἄλογον

is even willing to allow that the ἐκ βουλῆς is to be ascribed to the γέννησις in the sense which Dr. Clark wishes, i. e. he grants that it may precede the γέννησις, i. e. in *order*, not in time, in the succession of our ideas, Trin. vi. 8. §. 20, 21; and follows S. Austin, Trin. xv. 20. in preferring to speak of our Lord rather as voluntas de voluntate, than, as Athan. is led to do, as the voluntas Dei.

[1] vid. p. 216, note c. Also Serap. i. 15, b. 16 init. 17, c. 20, e, a. iv. 8, 14. Ep. Æg. 11 fin. Didym. Trin. iii. 3. p. 341. Ephr. Syr. adv. Hær. Serm. 55 init. (t. 2. p. 557.) Facund. Tr. Cap. iii. 3 init.

only to hear the Name of the Word, to know and understand that He who is God not by will, has not by will but by nature His proper Word. And does it not surpass all conceivable madness, to entertain the thought only, that God Himself counsels and considers and chooses and proceeds to have a good pleasure, that He be not without Word and without Wisdom, but have both? for He seems to be considering about Himself, who counsels about what is proper to His Substance. CHAP. XXX.

7. There being then much blasphemy in such a thought, it will be religious to say that things generate have come to be "by favour[1] and will," but the Son is not a work of will, nor has come after[2], as the creation, but is by nature the proper Offspring of God's Substance. For being the proper Word of the Father, He allows us not to account[3] of will as before Himself, since He is Himself the Father's Living Counsel[m], and Power, and Framer of the things which seemed good to the Father. And this is what He says of Himself in the Proverbs; *Counsel*[4] *is Mine and security, Mine is understanding, and Mine strength.* For as, although Himself the *Understanding*, in which He prepared the heavens, and Himself *Strength and Power*, (for Christ is *God's Power and God's Wisdom*,) He here has altered the terms and said, *Mine is understanding* and *Mine strength*, so while He says, *Mine is counsel*[4], He must Himself be the Living[n] Counsel of the Father; as we have learned from the Prophet also, that He is become *the Angel of great Counsel*, and is called the good pleasure of the Father; for thus we must refute them, using human illustrations[5] concerning God. Therefore if the works subsist "by will and favour," and the whole creature is made §. 64.

[1] ἰδίᾳ βουλῇ.

[2] ὑστερογενὴς, p. 487, r. 2.

[3] λογίσασθαί τινα βούλησιν, p. 494, r. 4. male vers. Lat.

[4] βουλή. Prov. 8, 14.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

Is. 9, 6.

[5] p. 326, note f.

[m] ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸν βούλημα. Clem. Ped. iii. circ. fin. σοφία, χρηστότης, δύναμις, βίλημα παντοκρατορικόν. Strom. v. p. 547. Voluntas et potestas patris. Tertull. Orat. 4. Natus ex Patri quasi voluntas ex mente procedens. Origen. Periarch. i. 2. §. 6. S. Jerome notices the same interpretation of "by the will of God" in the beginning of Comment. in Ephes. S. Austin on the other hand, as just now referred to, says, "Some divines, to avoid saying that the Only-Begotten Word is the Son of God's counsel or will, have named Him the very Counsel or Will of the Father. But I think it better to speak of Him as Counsel from Counsel, Will from Will, as Substance from Substance, Wisdom from Wisdom." Trin. xv. 20. And so Cæsarius, ἀγάπη ἐξ ἀγάπης. Qu. 39. vid. for other instances Tertullian's Works, O. Tr. Note I.

[n] ζῶσα βουλή. supr. 284, r. 3. Cyril in Joan. p. 213. ζῶσα δύναμις. Sabell. Greg. 5. c. ζῶσα εἶπεν. Naz. Orat. 30, 20. c. ζῶσα ἐνέργεια. Syn. Antioch. ap. Routh. Reliqu. t. 2. p. 469. ζῶσα ἰσχύς. Cyril. in Joan. p. 951. ζῶσα σοφία. Origen. contr. Cels. iii. fin. ζῶν λόγος. Origen. ibid. ζῶν ἔργαστον. (heretically) Euseb. Dem. iv. 2.

Disc. III. "at God's good pleasure," and Paul was called to be an Apostle *by the will of God*, and the our calling has come about *by His good pleasure and will*, and all things have been brought into being through the Word, He is external to the things which have come to be by will, but rather is Himself the Living Counsel of the Father, by which all these things were brought to be; by which David also gives thanks in the seventy-second Psalm, *Thou hast holden me by my right hand; Thou shalt guide me with Thy Counsel.*

Ps. 73, 22. 23.

8. How then can the Word, being the Counsel and Good Pleasure of the Father, come into being Himself "by good pleasure and will" as every thing else? unless, as I said before, in their madness they repeat that He was brought into being by Himself, or by some other[o]. Who then is it by whom He came to be? let them fashion another Word; and let them name another Christ, rivalling the doctrine of Valentinus[1]; for Scripture it is not. And though they fashion another, yet assuredly he too comes into being through some one; and so, while we are thus reckoning up and investigating the succession of them, the many-headed[p] heresy of the Atheists[2] is discovered to issue in polytheism[3] and madness unlimited; in the which, wishing the Son to be a creature and from nothing, they imply the same thing in other words by pretending the words will and pleasure, which rightly belong to things generate and creatures. Is it not irreligious then to impute the characteristics of things generate to the Framer of all? and is it not blasphemous to say that will was in the Father before the Word? for if will precedes in the Father, the Son's words are not true, *I in the Father;* or even if He is in the Father, yet He will hold but a second place, and it became Him not to say *I in the Father*, since will was before Him, in which all things were brought into being and He Himself subsisted, as you hold. For though He excel in glory, He is not the less one of the things which by will come into being. And, as we have said before, if it be so, how is He Lord and they

[1] p. 486.

[2] p. 340, note g.

[3] p 423, and note n. p. 442, r. 2.

[o] δι' ἑτέρου τινός. This idea has been urged against the Arians again and again, as just above, p. 488, n. 4. E. g. p. 13. p. 41. fin. p. 203. vid. p. 494. r. 1. also Epiph. Hær. 76. p. 951. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 11. c. 17, a. &c.

[p] πολυκέφαλος αἵρεσις. And so πολυκ. πανουργία, p. 489, r. 1. The allusion is to the hydra, with its ever-springing heads, as introduced p. 484, r. 4. and with a special allusion to Asterius who is mentioned, p. 487. and in de Syn. 18. supr. p. 100. is called πολυκ. σοφιστής.

servants[1]? but He is Lord of all, because He is one with the Father's Lordship; and the creation is all in servitude, since it is external to the Oneness of the Father, and, whereas it once was not, was brought to be. CHAP. XXX. [1] κύριος... δοῦλα, supr. p. 260, &c.

9. Moreover, if they say that the Son is by will, they should say also that He came to be by understanding; for I consider understanding and will to be the same. For what a man counsels, about that also he has understanding; and what he has in understanding, that also he counsels. Certainly the Saviour Himself has made them correspond, as being cognate, when He says, *Counsel is Mine and security; Mine is understanding, and Mine strength.* For as strength and security are the same, (for they mean one attribute[2];) so we may say that Understanding and Counsel are the same, which is the Lord. But these irreligious men are unwilling that the Son should be Word and Living Counsel; but they fable that there is with God[q], as if a habit[r], coming and going[s], after the manner of men, understanding, counsel, wisdom; and they leave nothing undone, and they put forward the "Thought" and "Will" of Valentinus, so that they may but separate the Son from the Father, and may call Him a creature instead of the proper Word of the Father. To them then must be said what was said to Simon Magus; "the irreligion of Valentinus perish with you;" and let every one rather trust to Solomon, who says, that the Word is Wisdom and Understanding. For he says, *The Lord by Wisdom hath founded the earth, by Understanding hath He established the heavens.* And as here by Understanding, so in the Psalms, *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made.* And as by the Word the heavens, so *He hath done whatsoever pleased Him.* And as the Apostle writes to the Thessalonians, *the will of God is in Christ Jesus*[3]. §. 65. [2] δύναμις. Acts 8, 20. Prov. 3, 19. Ps. 33, 6. Ps. 135, 6. Sept. 1 Thess. 5, 18. [3] p. 488.

10. The Son of God then, He is the *Word* and the *Wisdom;* He the *Understanding* and the Living *Counsel;* and in Him is the *Good Pleasure of the Father;* He is *Truth* and *Light* and *Power* of the Father. But if the Will of God is Wisdom and

[q] περὶ τὸν θεόν. vid. p. 38, r. 1. p. 202, r. 3. Also Orat. i. 27, d. where (supr. p. 220.) it is mistranslated. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. p. 150. vid. p. 131, note e. and παρβολὴ, p. 38, note z.

[r] ἕξιν. vid. p. 334, note y. infr. p. 515, note r.

[s] συμβαινούσαν καὶ ἀποσυμβαινούσαν. vid. p. 37, note y. σύμβαμα, Euseb. Eccl. Theol. iii. p. 150. in the same, though a technical sense. vid. also supr. p. 18, note p. p. 37, note y. Serap. i, 26, e. Naz. Orat. 31, 15 fin.

Disc. III. Understanding, and the Son is Wisdom, he who says that the Son is "by will," says virtually that Wisdom has come into being in Wisdom, and the Son is made in the Son, and the Word created through the Word[1]; which is incompatible with God and is opposed to His Scriptures. For the Apostle proclaims the Son to be the proper Radiance and Expression, not of the Father's will[2], but of His Substance[t] Itself, saying, *Who being the Radiance of His Glory and the Expression of His Subsistence.* But if, as we have said before, the Father's Substance and Subsistence[t] be not from will, neither, as is very plain, is what is proper to the Father's Subsistence from will; for such as, and so as, that Blessed Subsistence, must also be the proper Offspring from It. And accordingly the Father Himself said not, "This is The Son brought into being at My will," nor "the Son whom I have by My favour," but simply *My Son*, or rather, *in whom I am well pleased;* meaning by this, This is the Son by nature; and "in Him is lodged My will about those things which please Me."

[1] supr. p. 401, r. 4.

[2] p. 155, note g. Heb. 1, 3.

§. 66. 11. Since then the Son is by nature and not by will, is He without the pleasure[3] of the Father and not with the Father's will? No, verily; but the Son is with the pleasure of the Father, and, as He says Himself, *The Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things.* For as not "from will" did He begin to be good, nor yet is good without will and pleasure, (for what He is, that also is His pleasure,) so also that the Son should be, though it came not "from will," yet it is not without His pleasure or against His purpose. For as His own Subsistence[t] is by His pleasure, so also the Son, being proper to His Substance, is not without His pleasure. Be then the Son the subject of the Father's pleasure and love; and thus let every one religiously account of[4] the pleasure and the not unwillingness of God. For by that good pleasure wherewith the Son is the subject of the Father's pleasure, is the Father the subject of the Son's love, pleasure, and honour; and one

[3] θέλη-τος

John 3, 35; 5, 20.

[4] λογι-ζέσθω τις p. 491, r. 3.

[t] οὐσία and ὑπόστασις are in these passages made synonymous; and so infr. Orat. iv. 1, f. And in iv. 33 fin. to the Son is attributed ἡ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπόστασις. Vid. also ad Afros. 4. quoted supr. p. 70. Τοῦ might have been expected too in the discussion in the beginning of Orat. iii. did Athan. distinguish between them. It is remarkable how seldom it occurs at all in these Orations, except as contained in Heb. 1, 3. Vid. also Hist. Tr. O. Tr. p. 300, note m. Yet the phrase τῆς ὑποστάσεως is certainly found in Illud Omn. fin. and in Incarn. c. Arian. 10. (if genuine) and apparently in Expos. Fid. 2. Vid. also Orat. iv. 25 init.

is the good pleasure which is from Father in Son, so that here too we may contemplate the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son. Let no one then, with Valentinus, introduce a precedent will; nor let any one, by this pretence of "counsel," intrude between the Only Father and the Only Word; for it were madness to place will and consideration between them. For it is one thing to say, "Of will He came to be," and another, that the Father has love and good pleasure towards His Son who is proper to Him by nature. For to say, "Of will He came to be," in the first place implies that once He was not; and next it implies an inclination[1] two ways, as has been said, so that one might suppose that the Father could even not will the Son. But to say of the Son, "He might not have been," is an irreligious presumption reaching even to the Substance of the Father, as if what is proper to Him might not have been. For it is the same as saying, "The Father might not have been good." And as the Father is always good by nature, so He is always generative[2] by nature; and to say, "The Father's good pleasure is the Son," and "The Word's good pleasure is the Father," implies, not a precedent will, but genuineness of nature, and propriety and likeness of Substance. For as in the case of the radiance and light one might say, that there is no will preceding radiance in the light, but it is its natural offspring, at the pleasure of the light which begat it, not by will and consideration, but in nature and truth, so also in the instance of the Father and the Son, one would be orthodox to say, that the Father has love and good pleasure towards the Son, and the Son has love and good pleasure towards the Father.

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[1] ἔστιν, p. 490, r. 1.

[2] γεννητικὸς, i.e. ἀιὶ γεννᾷ, vid. p. 201, note b. p. 284, note e.

12. Therefore call not the Son a work of good pleasure; nor bring in the doctrine of Valentinus into the Church; but be He the Living Counsel, and Offspring in truth and nature, as the Radiance from the Light. For thus has the Father spoken, *My heart has burst with a good Word;* and the Son conformably, *I in the Father and the Father in Me.* But if the Word be in the heart, where is will? and if the Son in the Father, where is good pleasure? and if He be Will Himself, how is counsel in Will? it is extravagant; else the Word come into being in a word, and the Son in a son, and Wisdom in a wisdom, as has been repeatedly[3] said. For the

§. 67.

Ps. 45, 1. John 14, 10.

[3] p. 494, r. 1.

Disc. III. Son is the Father's All[1]; and nothing was in the Father before the Word; but in the Word is will also, and through Him the subjects of will are carried into effect, as holy Scriptures have shewn. And I could wish that the irreligious men, having fallen into such want of reason[2] as to be considering about will, would now ask their childbearing women no more, whom they used to ask, "Hadst thou a son before conceiving him[3]?" but the father, "Do ye become fathers by counsel, or by the natural law of your will?" or "Are your children like your nature and substance[u]?" that, even from fathers they may learn shame, from whom they assumed this proposition[4] about generation, and from whom they hoped to gain knowledge in point. For they will reply to them, "What we beget, is like, not our good pleasure[5], but like ourselves; nor become we parents by previous counsel, but to beget is proper to our nature; since we too are images of our fathers." Either then let them condemn themselves[6], and cease asking women about the Son of God, or let them learn from them, that the Son is begotten not by will, but in nature and truth. Becoming and suitable to them is a refutation from human instances[7], since the perverse-minded men dispute in a human way concerning the Godhead.

[1] πάντα τοῦ πα. τρός. p. 2, note e. [2] ἀλογίαν p. 218. [3] p. 283, note c. [4] λῆμμα p. 494, r. 2. [5] p. 6, note o. [6] Orat. i. 27, d. ii. 4, b. Apol. c. Ar. 36. [7] p. 491, r. 5.

13. Why then are Christ's enemies still mad? for this, as well as their other pretences, is shewn and proved to be mere fantasy and fable; and on this account, they ought, however late, contemplating the precipice of folly down which they have fallen, to rise again from the depth and to flee the snare of the devil, as we admonish them. For Truth is loving unto men and cries continually, "If because of My clothing of the body[3] ye believe Me not, yet believe the works, that ye may know that *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*[8]. But the Lord according to His wont is loving to man, and would fain *help them that are fallen*, as the lauds of David speak; but the irreligious men, not desirous to hear the Lord's voice, nor bearing to see Him acknowledged by all as God and God's Son, go about,

John 10, 38. 30. 14, 9. [8] p. 405, note m. Ps. 146, 8.

[u] τῆς οὐσίας ὅμοια. vid. p. 210, note e. p. 425, r. 4. Also ii. 42, b. p. 416, r. 2. p. 421, r. 2.

miserable men, as beetles, seeking with their father the devil[1] pretexts for irreligion. What pretexts then, and whence will they be able next to find? unless they borrow blasphemies of Jews and Caiaphas, and take atheism[2] from Gentiles? for the divine Scriptures are closed to them, and from every part of them they are refuted as insensate and Christ's enemies.

CHAP. XXX.

[1] p. 484, r. 5.

[2] p. 492, r. 2.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ON

DISCOURSE IV.

§. 1. *On the Structure of the Book.*

THERE is a general agreement among Critics that the "Four Orations" or "Discourses against the Arians," as they are styled in the Benedictine Edition, and also in this Translation, are parts of one work. Nay, such might seem to have been the opinion of Photius when he speaks of Athanasius's "five books against Arius and his doctrines[1]." Montfaucon even goes so far as to consider external evidence unnecessary, and appeals to the structure of the Orations, as even determining their number. "Nihil opus est longiore disputatione," he says, "cùm clarum sit ex hisce ipsis Quatuor Orationibus, nihil eas commune cum ullo alio opere habere, sed ita inter se cohærere, ut unum ipsæ opus simul conficiant. quarum prima sit principium, quarta autem omnium sit finis; quam sane ob causam sola hæc ultima solitâ terminatur conclusione." t. i. pp. 403, 4. However he so far modifies or explains this statement, in his Præf. p. xxxv, and Vit. Ath. p. lxxii, as to allow that they were not written on any exactly determined previous plan, but that the later Orations are in one sense amplifications or defences of what had gone before, in consequence of the continuance of the controversy. This view of their structure is principally derived from the commencement of the Second and Third, in which S. Athanasius, according to his custom on other occasions, speaks of himself as resuming a discussion which he considered already sufficiently extended.

[1] ἡ κατὰ βιβλους. cod. 140.

Tillemont speaks as decidedly of the unity and integrity of the Four Orations. "Les quatre oraisons," he says, "sont toutes liées ensemble, et en un même corps, comme il paroit principalement, parce-qu'il n'y a que la derniere qui finisse par la glorification ordinaire." Mem. Eccl. t. 8. p. 701. And again, "Il est certain que ces quatre discours...semblent...ne faire qu'une seule piece, qu'on aura partagée tantôt en quatre, tantôt en cinq." p. 191.

Ceillier follows Tillemont almost word for word. Aut. Eccl. t. v. pp. 217, 218, observing with Montfaucon that the later Discourses are successively defences of the earlier.

Petavius had already incidentally expressed the same opinion in in his work de Incarnatione; and that the more strongly, though indirectly, because, like Tillemont, he is at the very time engaged in shewing that the Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib. does not form part of the general Treatise, as the editions of his day considered it, inasmuch as it is but partly engaged with the subject of Arian doctrine; vid. Ep. Æg. (O. T.) p. 125. "Non est ejusdem cum sequentibus argumenti, nam in istis adversus Arianam hæresim disputat, &c....prima autem (i. e. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib.) nihil horum facit." de Incarn. v. 15. §. 9.

Yet in spite of authorities so great and so concordant, I think it may be made plain with very little trouble, that the Fourth of these Orations, which is now to follow, is not written against the Arians, nor is an Oration, nor is even a continuous discussion, but is a collection of fragments or memoranda of unequal lengths, and on several subjects, principally on the Photinian heresy, partly on the Sabellian and Samosatene, and partly indeed, but least of all, on the Arian. Some remarks shall now be made in behalf of this representation.

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1. And here it may be premised, that no passage in the so-called Fourth Oration is quoted, I believe, by any early writer or authority, as a part of S. Athanasius's work "against the Arians," or "on the Trinity;" whereas the Second and Third are quoted by Theodoret[1], Justinian[2], S. Cyril[3], Facundus[4], the Lateran Council under Pope Martin I.[5] Pope Agatho[6], and others, and designated too by the numbers they respectively bear in the Benedictine Edition. And though Photius, as has already been observed, speaks of the whole work as consisting of five parts, while the Seventh General Council[7] and the Greek version of Pope Agatho's Epistle in the Sixth[8], certainly speak of the Benedictine Third as the Fourth, this furnishes no proof that the Book which is here to follow under the name of the Fourth formed the concluding portion or Fifth of Photius's Pentabiblus. For in one MS. this Fourth is called the Sixth; and this obliges us to look out for another Fifth, which Montfaucon considers he has discovered in the De Incarn. contra Arian., which in some MSS. is actually so named. It may be added that the Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib. which was once commonly regarded as the First, is in some MSS. called the Fourth, while in one of Montfaucon's MSS. the so-called Fourth is altogether omitted. In a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Roe 29, dated 1410.) the Incarn. c. Arian. comes after the first Three in the place of the present Fourth. In others the present Fourth is called the Fifth; and in others the Epist. ad Ep. Æg. et Lib. is numbered as the "Third against the Arians," the de Sent. Dion., divided into two parts, being apparently reckoned as the First and Second. With variations then so considerable, no evidence can be drawn from these titles on any side.

[1] Eran. ii. p. 136. and supr. p. 381.
[2] ad Menam. and supr. p. 308.
[3] Ep. i. p. 4. and supr. p. 440.
[4] Tr. Cap. iii. 3. and supr. p. 481.
[5] Secr. 5. and supr. p. 443.
[6] Ep. ad Impp. and supr. p. 449.
[7] Act iv. and supr. p. 405.
[8] supr. r. 3.

2. Next, the very opening of the Book shews that it is no Oration or Discourse of a character like the Three which precede it. The Second and Third begin with a formal introduction, in which allusion is made to the general argument of which they profess to be the continuation; but there is no pretence of composition or method in the commencement of the Fourth. It enters abruptly into its subject, whatever that be, for it does not propose it, with a categorical statement supported by a text; "The Word is God from God, for 'the Word was God,'"—a mode of treating so sacred a subject most unlike the ceremoniousness, as it may be called, which is observable in the Author's finished works.

Abrupt transitions of a similar character are also found in the course of it, and are introductory of fresh subjects; for instance, in §§. 6, 9, and 25, as the commencement of Subjects ii. v. and viii. in the Translation will shew. And so little idea of any continuity of subject was entertained by transcribers, that in five MSS. a place is apparently assigned between §§. 12 and 13. to the Tract de Sabbatis et Circumcisione, doubtfully ascribed to S. Athanasius, and contained in the Benedictine,

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tom. ii. p. 54. Strikingly in contrast is his ordinary style, running one subject into another, and intimately combining even distinct arguments, so that it is often an extreme difficulty to divide the composition into paragraphs.

It may be added that the Three Orations refer backwards and forwards to each other, and, in spite of whatever is supplemental in the Second and Third, are constructed on a definite plan[1], which comes to an end with, or shortly before, the conclusion of the Third. The main portion of the Three Orations, extending from chapter xi. to chapter xxix. inclusive, is engaged in the interpretation of passages of Scripture, chiefly such as were urged by the Arians against the Catholic doctrine. The remainder is employed upon the notorious Arian formulæ condemned at Nicæa, or the equally notorious interrogations which, as S. Athanasius so often says, they circulated every where, never tired with the repetition. The Fourth Oration has hardly any thing in common with them here.

[1] vid. pp. 233, 256, 281; p. 306, note b. pp. 398; 436, 7. and note a. p. 482, note f. p. 484, note a.

There is some difference too in phraseology between the first Three and the Fourth of these Orations. The word *ὁμοούσιον* occurs in the Fourth three times, §§. 10 and 12, as it is found in Athanasius's other works; but it cannot be said to have occurred any where throughout the former Three; for the solitary passage in which it is found, i. 9. is rather a sort of doctrinal confession than a part of the discussion; and it is actually omitted in places where it might naturally have been expected; vid. p. 210, note d. p. 262, note f. p. 264, note g. Moreover in the Second Oration, supr. p. 391, r. 3. p. 393, r. 2. as in earlier works of the Author, the term *αὐτοσοφία* is admitted, vid. Gent. 40, 46. Incarn. V. D. 20. Serap. iv. 20. whereas in the Fourth, (p. 514, note p.) if Petavius (Trin. vi. 11.) be right, it is abandoned as Sabellian. And so again there is a difference, which it is not too minute to mention, between the Fourth and the Orations which precede it, in one of his most familiar illustrations of the Holy Trinity; the Three using the image of *φῶς* and its *ἀπαύγασμα*, but the last that of *πῦρ* and its *ἀπαύγασμα*, and *πῦρ* and *φῶς*. p. 515, note t. The corrupt state of the text is a further characteristic of this Oration compared with the foregoing.

3. Nay, we might even fancy that at least some passages of the Book were fragments of one or more treatises, or first draughts of trains of thought, or instructions for controversy, which have accidentally been thrown together into one. The interpolation formerly of an entirely heterogeneous tract, perhaps not Athanasius's, in some of its MSS, has already been mentioned; and it is remarkable that this very Tract, in all the existing MSS. noticed by the Benedictines but one, is thrown together with the In illud Omnia and a passage from the de Decretis, thus affording an instance in point. A somewhat similar instance is afforded by the Sermo Major de Fide published in Montfaucon's Nova Collectio, which seems to be hardly more than a set of small fragments from Athanasius's other works. Further, in the case of the work before us, some MSS. supply distinct titles to separate portions, as in §§. 9. and 11. which they respectively head Τοὺς σαβελλίζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἔρεσθαι οὕτως, and Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ θεῷ σιωπώμενος ὕστερον δὲ προβέβληται δι' ἡμᾶς ἵνα ἡμεῖς κτισθῶμεν. Moreover, "they" and "he" are at times found without antecedents,

(vid. references infr. p. 502.) The abruptness too, already noticed for another reason, is of course also a proof of dissimilarity in the contents. And the §. 25. breaks into the middle of a continuous discussion which runs from §. 15. to §. 36. And §. 11. begins with an allusion to a subject which might have been expected, but is not found, in the passage which now stands immediately before it. Also §§. 6. and 7. the only passage which directly relates to the Arian controversy, is interposed suddenly between lines of argument quite foreign to it; moreover its style is of the flowing oratorical character which obtains throughout the Three Discourses, and which is not found in the sections which precede and follow it. The same oratorical character attaches in a manner to §§. 14, 17, 27, 28. and 34.

Further, Montfaucon tells us in the Monitum prefixed to the Epist. Encycl. that the phrase *οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον* is never used by S. Athanasius after Eusebius's death; "Neque enim," he says, "sequaces Eusebii jam defuncti usquam apud Athanasium *οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον* vocantur, sed *κοινωνοὶ τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον* vel *κληρόνομοι τῆς ἀσεβείας τοῦ Εὐσεβίου.*" t. i. p. 110. Now the phrase occurs in §. 8. of this Oration, but Eusebius died A.D. 341, whereas the First Oration was written about A.D. 358. If Montfaucon then be correct in his remark, either the Oration called the Fourth was written many years prior to those which it is considered to follow, or it is made up of portions belonging to separate dates.

Also §§. 1—5, 9, 10, are engaged upon a line of thought altogether different from any other part of the Book. The main subject of these sections is the *μοναρχία*; and it is observable moreover that the word *ἀρχὴ*, there used for "origin," as in the former Orations, is in other places used simply and only in the sense of "beginning," vid. §§. 8, 25, 26, 27. And here we may add, as a peculiarity of the passage contained in §§. 30—36, its use of the word *θεῖος* as an epithet of our Lord, viz. 31, d, twice, f. a 34 init. 36 init. Also of the verb *νοεῖν*.

And what is one of the special peculiarities of the Book, so as quite to give a character to the style, and to prove it, or at least great part of it, to be a collection of notes or suggestions for controversy, is the repeated occurrence of such phrases as *πευστέον*, 2, e. *ἐρωτητέον*, 3, f. 4, a. *λεκτέον*, 4 init. 6, d. 10, a. *ἐλεγχτέον*, 3, a. 4, e. *ἔρεσθαι δίκαιον, καλόν*, &c. 11, d. 14, a. 23, b. (vid. also the Benedictine note c. on §. 9. which has been already used in another connection.) Of the same character is the frequent clause "In that case the same extravagant consequences, *ἄτοπα*, follow," and the like; e. g. 2, e. 4, e. 4 fin. 15 init. 25, b. 26 init. with which may be contrasted e. g. the more finished turn of sentence Orat. ii. 24, b. *καλὸν αὐτοὺς ἔρεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ ἔλεγχος κ. τ. λ.* To these may be added, *τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ περὶ δυνάμεως*, §. 3.; which, as well as the foregoing, remind the reader of Aristotle rather than S. Athanasius; and the abrupt setting down of texts for discussion in the beginnings of §§. 1, 5, 9, and 31. which are in the same style.

In the same Aristotelic style is his enunciation of theological principles; e. g. *εἰ ἄγονος καὶ ἀνενέργητος ὁ θεός.* 4 fin. *τὸ ἔκ τινος ὑπάρχον, υἱός ἐστιν ἐκείνου.* 15, c. *οὐδὲν ἓν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.* 17, d. *ὧν οὐκ ἐστιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὁ υἱὸς, τούτων οὐδὲ πατὴρ ὁ θεός.* 22, b. *εἰ μὴ υἱὸς, οὐδὲ λόγος. εἰ μὴ λόγος, οὐδὲ υἱός.* 24 fin.

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his name does not appear among the extant signatures. This important document, which was brought to light and published by Montfaucon, speaks in the name of "the Clergy and the others assembled in Ancyra of Galatia, with our father Marcellus." He, as well as Athanasius himself, died immediately after this transaction, Marcellus in extreme age, being at least twenty years older than Athanasius, who himself lived till past the age of seventy. One might trust that the life of the former was thus prolonged, till he really recanted the opinions which go under his name; yet viewing him historically, and not in biography, it still seems right, and is in accordance with the usage of the Church in other cases, to consider him rather in his works and in his school and its developments, than in his own person and in his penitence. Whether S. Athanasius wrote the controversial passages which follow against him or against his school, in either case it was prior to the date of the explanatory document signed by Eugenius; nor is its interpretation affected by that explanation. As to S. Hilary's statement above referred to, that S. Athanasius did not condemn the particular work of Marcellus against Asterius, of which alone portions remain to us, and which is now to be quoted, his evidence in other parts of the history is not sufficiently exact to overcome the plainly heretical import of the statement made in that work. Those statements were as follows:—

Marcellus held, according to Eusebius, that (1) there was but one person, *πρόσωπον*, in the Divine Nature; but he differed from Sabellius in maintaining, (2) not that the Father was the Son and the Son the Father, (which is called the doctrine of the *υἱοπάτωρ*,) but that (3) Father and Son were mere names or titles, and (4) not expressive of essential characteristics,—names or titles given to Almighty God and (5) His Eternal Word, on occasion of the Word's appearing in the flesh, in the person, or subsistence (*ὑπόστασις*) of Jesus Christ, the Son of Mary. The Word, he considered, was from all eternity in the One God, being analogous to man's reason within him, or the *ἐνδιάθετος λόγος* of the philosophical schools. (6) This One God or *μόνας* has condescended to extend or expand Himself, *πλατύνεσθαι*, to effect our salvation. (7 and 8) The expansion consists in the action, *ἐνεργεία*, of the *λόγος*, which then becomes the *λόγος προφορικὸς* or voice of God, instead of the inward reason. (9) The incarnation is a special divine expansion, viz. an expansion in the flesh of Jesus, Son of Mary; (10) in order to which the Word went forth, as at the end of the dispensation He will return. Consequently the *λόγος* is not (11) the Son, nor (12) the Image of God, nor the Christ, nor the First-begotten, nor King, but Jesus is all these; and if these titles are applied to the Word in Scripture, they are applied prophetically, in anticipation of His manifestation in the flesh. (13) And when He has accomplished the object of His coming, they will cease to apply to Him; for He will leave the flesh, return to God, and be merely the Word as before; and His Kingdom, as being the Kingdom of the flesh or manhood, will come to an end.

This account of the tenets of Marcellus comes, it is true, from an enemy, who was writing against him, and moreover from an Arian or Arianizer, who was least qualified to judge of the character of tenets which were so opposite to his own. Yet there is no reason to doubt its correctness on this account. Eusebius supports his charges by

various extracts from Marcellus's works, and he is corroborated by the testimony of others. Moreover, if Athanasius's account of the tenets against which he himself here writes, answers to what Eusebius tells us of those of Marcellus, the coincidence confirms Eusebius as well as explains Athanasius. And further, the heresy of Photinus, the disciple of Marcellus, which consisted in the very doctrines which Eusebius deduces from the work of Marcellus, gives an additional weight to such deductions.

I shall now set down in order the distinct propositions contained in the foregoing statement, attempt to bring them home to Marcellus or his school, and set against them the extracts from the (so-called) Fourth Oration, which are parallel to them.

Marcellus then held:—

1. That there is but one Person in the Divine Nature. I set this down to introduce the subject, though I find nothing parallel to it in the Fourth Oration, and do not wish to lay much stress on the use of a word,—however startling a use, especially as interpreted by what is to follow,—especially as in one passage, Marcellus qualifies it by the epithet which he connects with it. After quoting the phrase *κύριος ὁ θεὸς* in Exod. iii. 15. by way of evading the "one God, one Lord," in Eph. iv. 5, 6. he says, *ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἐν ἐπιδεικνὺς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθα πρόσωπον, τὸ αὐτὸ κύριον καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύει*; Euseb. p. 132, a. Again, *τὸ γὰρ ἐγὼ, ἑνὸς προσώπου δεικτικόν ἐστιν*; p. 133, a. he goes on to make *πρόσωπον* synonymous with *ἡ τῆς θεότητος μονάς*. vid. also again, *ἕνος πρόσωπον*, ibid. b. Again, *ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἰ δύο διαιρούμενα, ὡς Ἀστέριος ἔφη, πρόσωπα εἶη, ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα κ. τ. λ.* p. 168, c.

2. That, whereas Sabellius adopts the doctrine of the *υἱοπάτωρ* that the Father is the Son, and the Son the Father,—

Σαβέλλιος εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελῶν τὸν πατέρα, ὃν υἱὸν λέγειν ἐτόλμα, Euseb. p. 76, a. And so Eugenius, in his Explanation addressed to Athanasius, anathematizes Sabellius and those who say with him, *αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα εἶναι υἱὸν, καὶ ὅτε μὲν γίνεται υἱὸς, μὴ εἶναι τότε αὐτὸν πατέρα, ὅτε δὲ γίνεται πατὴρ, μὴ εἶναι τότε υἱόν*. Nov. Coll. t. 2. p. 2. And S. Basil: *ὁ Σαβέλλιος εἰπὼν, τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν, ἕνα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὄντα, πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστοτε παραπίπτουσας χρείας μεταμορφούμενον, νῦν μὲν ὡς πατέρα, νῦν δὲ ὡς υἱὸν, νῦν δὲ ὡς πνεῦμα ἅγιον διαλέγεσθαι*. Ep. 210, 5 fin.

3. on the contrary, Father and Son are but titles applied in time to the relation existing between the Almighty and His Eternal *λόγος*, when, instead of abiding within Him (or being *ἐνδιάθετος*) it became *προφορικὸς* in the person or subsistence of Jesus Christ.

Μάρκελλος καινωτέραν ἐξεῦρε τῇ πλάνῃ μηχανὴν, θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ λόγον ἕνα μὲν εἶναι ὁριζόμενος, δύο δ' αὐτῷ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ χαριζόμενος ἐπηγορίας. Euseb. p. 76, a. vid. also p. 63, c. Accordingly, to mark his sense of the mere figurative meaning of the term Father, he called God "*Father* of the *Word*," *ἐν τῷ* [*τὸν* Χριστὸν] *φάσκειν* [*τὸν θεὸν*], *μηδὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ λόγου κύριον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου τὸν πατέρα, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὰ ἴδια τοῦ παιδὸς δείκνυσιν*. ibid. p. 38.

This agrees with the heretic introduced into the contr. Sabell. Gregal. §. 5. whom R. S. C. p. 28. considers to be Marcellus; *κἀγὼ, φησὶν, ὁμολογῶ γέννησιν· γεννᾶται γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὅτε καὶ λαλεῖται καὶ γινώσκεται*.

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Elsewhere Eusebius says that he held *αὐτὸν* [*θεὸν*] *εἶναι τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγου πατέρα.* ibid. p. 167, c. though this is mere catholic language in contrast to that Arianism of which Eusebius is guilty; and need not have been remarked upon, but for the following passage about Photinus in a sermon of Nestorius, which may be taken to illustrate it. "Sabellius *υἱοπάτορα* dicit ipsum Filium, quem Patrem, et ipsum Patrem, quem Filium; Photinus vero *λογοπάτορα* [Verbum-patrem.]" Mercat. t. 2. p. 87.

4. That the Word is in truth the Word, *ἀληθῶς λόγος*, and only improperly a Son. *λόγον γὰρ εἶναι δοῦς τὸν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἕν τε καὶ ταῦτον ὄντα αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὁρισάμενος, πατέρα τούτου χρηματίζειν αὐτὸν ἔφη· τόν τε λόγον υἱὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὄντα υἱὸν ἐν οὐσίας ὑποστάσει, κυρίως δὲ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον. ἐπισημαίνεται γοῦν ὅτι μὴ καταχρηστικῶς λόγον, ἀλλὰ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον, καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ λόγον. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἕτερον, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ υἱὸς ἦν κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, μέχρι δὲ φωνῆς καὶ ὀνόματος καταχρηστικῶς ὠνομασμένος.* Euseb. p. 61, a, b.

5. That the Word is from eternity in God, or *ἐνδιάθετος*, as an attribute.

He says, *πλὴν θεοῦ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν· εἶχεν οὖν τὴν οἰκείαν δόξαν ὁ λόγος ὢν ἐν τῷ πατρί.* Euseb. p. 39, c. Where, it should be observed, that the phrase *ἐν τῷ θεῷ* was, as Montfaucon tells us, (Coll. Nov. t. 2. p. lvii.) considered suspicious by many Fathers, as being a substitution for the Scriptural *πρὸς τὸν θεὸν*, which S. John (i. 1.) uses, *οὐκ εἰπῶν*, says Eusebius, p. 121, b. *ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ καταβάλῃ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμοιότητα, ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ συμβεβηκός.*

And so S. Basil, *οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, κ. τ. λ.* Homil. xvi. 4. p. 137. ed. Ben.

6. That there has been an expansion or dilatation of the Eternal Unity into a Trinity, and again there will be a collapse into Unity.

Marcellus says, *εἰ τοίνυν ὁ λόγος, φαίνοιτο ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελθὼν, ...τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται,...οὐ σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς ἐνταῦθα ἀποῤῥήτῳ λόγῳ ἡ μονὰς φαίνεται πλατυνομένη μὲν εἰς τριάδα, διαιρεῖσθαι δὲ μηδαμῶς ὑπομένουσα*; Euseb. p. 168, a, b. Vid. also pp. 108, b, c. 114, b.

In like manner Theodoret states that Marcellus held, *ἔκτασίν τινα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος.....μετὰ δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκονομίαν πάλιν ἀναspασθῆναι καὶ συσταλῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐξετάθη· τὸ δὲ πανάγιον πνεῦμα παρέκτασιν τῆς ἐκτάσεως, καὶ ταύτην τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρασχεθῆναι.* Hær. ii. 10. And Nestorius quotes Photinus as saying, Vides quia Deum Verbum aliquando Deum, aliquando Verbum appellat, tanquam extensum atque collectum." Mercat. t. 2. p. 87.

7. That this expansion or *πλατυσμὸς* consists in the action or *ἐνεργεία* of the *μονάς.*

Marcellus says that the Word *ἐνεργείᾳ μόνῃ, διὰ τὴν σάρκα, κεχωρῆσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς φαίνεται.* Euseb. p. 51, a.

And accordingly Eusebius argues against him, *τὴν μονάδα,* [*ὡς*] *φησὶ Μάρκελλος, ἐνεργείᾳ πλατύνεσθαι, ἐπὶ μὲν σωμάτων χώραν ἔχει, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀσωμάτου οὐσίας οὐκ ἔτι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐνεργεῖν πλατύνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ μὴ ἐνεργεῖν συστέλλεται.* p. 108, b, c. Vid. also the 6th and 7th anathemas of the Council of Sirmium, supr. p. 119. which, compared with the 5th of the Macrostich, supr. p. 114. evidently aim at Marcellus and Photinus.

8. That the first instance of the *ἐνεργεία* of the *λόγος* was His creation of the world.

οὐδενὸς ὄντος πρότερον, says Marcellus, *ἢ θεοῦ μόνου, πάντων δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου γίγνεσθαι μελλόντων, προῆλθεν ὁ λόγος δραστικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ.* Euseb. p. 41, d. And directly after; *πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρί· ὅτε δὲ ὁ θεὸς παντοκράτωρ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐράνοις καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς προύθετο ποιῆσαι, ἐνεργείας ἡ τοῦ κόσμον γένεσις ἐδεῖτο δραστικῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο...ὁ λόγος προελθὼν ἐγίνετο τοῦ κόσμου ποιητής.* ibid.

9. That in the *πλατυσμὸς* of the *μονὰς*, or *ἐνεργεία* of the *λόγος* in the flesh, i. e. in the man Jesus Christ, consists the Incarnation.

Marcellus says, *εἰ μὲν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξέτασις γίγνοιτο μόνη, ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν εἰκότως εἶναι τῷ θεῷ φαίνοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἡ κατὰ σάρκα προσθήκη ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐξετάζοιτο, ἐνεργείᾳ ἡ θεότης μόνη πλατύνεσθαι δοκεῖ.* Euseb. p. 36, a.

And so Theodoret, *ἔκτασίν τινὰ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θεότητος ἔφησεν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐληλυθέναι.* Hær. ii. 10.

10. That, as the Word was in action, *ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ*, or became *προφορικὸς*, or went forth, for certain objects, when those objects are accomplished He will return to what He was before.

Τὸν ἐν τῷ θεῷ λόγον, says Eusebius, *ποτὲ μὲν ἔνδον εἶναι ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔφασκε, ποτὲ δὲ προϊέναι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοτε πάλιν ἀναδραμεῖσθαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἦν.* p. 112, c. Or in Marcellus's own words, *εἷς θεὸς, καὶ ὁ τούτου λόγος θεὸς προῆλθε μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἵνα πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γένηται· μετὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁπάντων διόρθωσιν καὶ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἀπάσης ἐνεργείας, τότε αὐτὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἵνα οὕτως ᾖ ἐν θεῷ ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.* Euseb. p. 41, c. d.

S. Basil in his letter to S. Athanasius about Marcellus confirms what is the obvious import of these words: he says that Marcellus taught *λόγον εἰρῆσθαι τὸν μονογενῆ, κατὰ χρείαν καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ προσελθόντα, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπαναστρέψαντα, οὔτε πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου εἶναι, οὔτε μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑφεστᾶναι.* Ep. 52.

11. That not the Word, but Jesus is the Son. This has been implied in some of the above extracts, but the tenet forms the subject of so large a portion of the Fourth Oration, and is ascribed to Marcellus and Photinus by such various authors, that it must be dwelt upon.

Ἱερὸς ἀπόστολός τε καὶ μαθητῆς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰωάννης, says Marcellus in Eusebius, *τῆς ἀϊδιότητος αὐτοῦ μνημονεύων, ἀληθὴς ἐγίγνετο τοῦ λόγου μάρτυς, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, λέγων, καὶ,...οὐδὲν γεννήσεως ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύων τοῦ λόγου.* Euseb. p. 37, b. vid. also p. 27 fin. And again, *οὐκ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει, ἀλλ' ἵνα διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμολογίας* [f. *ὀνομασίας*. R. S. C.] *θέσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν, υἱὸν θεοῦ γενέσθαι παρασκευάσῃ*, [i. e. *θέσει υἱὸν θεοῦ.*] p. 42, a. Again, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ὁ τῷ λόγῳ ἑνωθεὶς ἄνθρωπος.* p. 49, a.

And so Epiphanius of Photinus, *ὁ λόγος ἐν τῷ πατρί, φησιν, ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν υἱός.* Hær. p. 830, b. vid. also p. 831.

And Eugenius, when clearing himself and other disciples of Marcellus to Athanasius; *οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν λόγον φρονοῦμεν, ὥς τινες ἡμᾶς διέβαλον*; and they anathematize the madness of Photinus and his followers, *ὅτι μὴ φρονοῦσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ διαιροῦσιν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀρχὴν τῷ υἱῷ διδοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ Μαρίας κατὰ σάρκα γενέσεως.* Coll. Nov. t. 2. p. 3, d.

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And Nestorius says, Cogitur Photinus Verbum dicere, non autem Verbum hoc Filium confitetur. Mercat. t. 2. p. 87. vid. also Garner. in Mercat. t. 2. p. 314 init.

And Marcellus himself, in his explanatory statement addressed to Pope Julius, lays especially stress on his reception of the point of faith which is in these extracts denied, confessing the "only-begotten *Son Word*," "of whose kingdom there shall be no end," "the Word, of whom Luke the Evangelist witnesses, 'as they delivered who were eye-witnesses;'" "the Son, that is, the Word of Almighty God;" "the Father's Power, the Son." Epiph. Hær. p. 835, 6.

12. That not the Word but Jesus is the Christ, the First-begotten, the Image of God, the King.

Εἴ τις, says Eusebius, *τὸν υἱὸν, ᾧ πάντα παρέδωκεν ὁ πατὴρ, λόγον ὁρίζοιτο μόνον, ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, εἶτα σάρκα φησὶν ἀνειληφέναι, καὶ τότε υἱὸν θεοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν χρηματίσαι, βασιλέα τε ἀναγορεύεσθαι, εἰκόνα τε τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, μὴ ὄντα πρότερον, τότε ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, τίς ἂν λείποιτο τούτῳ δυσσεβείας ὑπερβολή;* p. 6, b, d. The passage, which is here curtailed, goes through all the alleged tenets of Marcellus. vid. also pp. 49, 50. In his own words, concerning the "First-begotten," *οὐ τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ ἁγιώτατος λόγος, πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως πρωτότοκος ἁπάσης κτίσεως ὀνόμαστο, πῶς γὰρ δύνατον τὸν ἀεὶ ὄντα πρωτότοκον εἶναί τινος; ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰς ὃν τὰ πάντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐβουλήθη ὁ θεὸς, τοῦτον αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ πρωτότοκον ὀνομάζουσι.* Euseb. p. 44, b, c. Concerning the "Image," *πῶς οὖν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον Ἀστέριος εἶναι γέγραφε; αἱ γὰρ εἰκόνες τούτων, ὧν εἰσὶν εἰκόνες, καὶ ἀπόντων, δεικτικαί εἰσιν· πῶς εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ ὁ λόγος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀόρατος ὤν; ....δῆλον, ὁπηνίκα τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην ἀνείληφε σάρκα, εἰκὼν ἀληθῶς τοῦ ἀοράτου θεοῦ γέγονε.* p. 47, a—d. vid. also p. 142, b.

And so S. Epiphanius of Photinus's doctrine about the title "Christ;" *φάσκει οὗτος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας.* p. 829.

13. That at the end of all things the Word, returning to God, will leave the flesh or manhood, whose Kingdom will then end.

On this point, which may almost be called the peculiarity of this doctrine, and gave occasion to an article in the (commonly called) Nicene Creed, Marcellus is very full. He argues that "the flesh profiteth nothing;" how then can it be everlastingly united to the Word?" pp. 42, 43. that our Saviour adds, "What and if ye shall see the Son of Man, &c." which he seems to refer to the separation of the Word from the flesh. p. 51, c. that the Psalmist expressly says, "Sit Thou on My right hand, *till* I make, &c." and S. Paul, "He shall reign *till* He hath put, &c." p. 51, d. and S. Peter, "Whom the hearers must receive *until*[1], &c." p. 52, a. And that the object of the dispensation was, not that the Word, but that man should conquer his enemy and regain heaven. p. 49, c, d. *οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ λόγος ἀρχὴν βασιλείας εἴληφεν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως, βασιλεὺς γέγονεν, ἵνα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὸν πρότερον ἀπατήσαντα νικήσῃ διάβολον.* Euseb. p. 52, a. that if His Kingdom had a beginning 400 years since, it is not wonderful that it should have an end. p. 50, d. *ὥσπερ ἀρχὴν οὕτω καὶ τέλος ἕξειν.* p. 52, c. And if any one asks what will then become of that immortal flesh, which once belonged to the Word, Marcellus answers, *δογματίζειν περὶ ὧν μὴ*

[1] supr. p. 381, note i.

ἀκριβῶς [ἐκ] τῶν θείων μεμαθήκαμεν γραφῶν, οὐκ ἀσφαλές. Euseb. p. 53, a. *μή μου πυνθάνου περὶ ὧν σαφῶς παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς μὴ μεμάθηκα· διὰ τούτο τοίνυν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς θείας ἐκείνης, τῆς τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ κοινωνησάσης σάρκος, σαφῶς εἰπεῖν δυνήσομαι.* ibid. b, c. INTROD TO DISC. IV.

Such was the doctrine of Marcellus, Photinus, and their school, and there is scarcely any one of the heads of it as now drawn out, but is distinctly stated and combated in this so-called Fourth Oration of S. Athanasius. And what increases the force of the coincidence is the independence of his testimony relatively to Eusebius, and its connection with the testimony of S. Basil and Eugenius. When men of such opposite minds and parties as S. Athanasius and Eusebius describe and oppose the very same error, it is natural to think that that error did really exist, and in that quarter to which Eusebius assigns it, and in which Athanasius to say the least does not deny it. On the other hand, Basil, Athanasius, and Eugenius, are parties in one and the same transaction. Basil accuses Eugenius and other followers of Marcellus before Athanasius, of a certain definite heresy. Eugenius clears himself from the same. When Athanasius then is found to have been writing about the very same doctrine, it is obvious to consider that he is aiming at that school which S. Basil attacks and which Eugenius disowns.

Now the following are some of the statements, above imputed to Marcellus and Photinus, which Athanasius combats in the Fourth Oration.

(1.) At least the twenty-one out of thirty-six sections, of which it consists, is devoted to the disproof of the position that "the Word is not the Son;" and though seven of these are primarily directed against the disciples of Paul of Samosata, this does not determine the drift of the remaining and greater portion, which needs some object, and will find it in the school of Marcellus.

(2.) Again, Athanasius protests against the doctrine of the Word being like man's word without subsistence, *οὐ διαλελυμένος, ἢ ἁπλῶς φωνὴ σημαντικὴ, ἀλλὰ οὐσιώδης λόγος· εἰ γὰρ μὴ, ἔσται ὁ θεὸς λαλῶν εἰς ἀέρα.... ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔκ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἂν εἴη οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν.* §. 1. Vid. also contr. Sabell. Greg. §. 5. e. This is precisely Eusebius's language against Marcellus, e. g. *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, σημαντικὸν αὐτὸν δίδωσι, καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ.* p. 118. vid. also p. 128.

(3.) Again Athanasius argues against the doctrine of previous silence and then action in the Divine Nature, such being the language under which the heresy he opposes expressed itself; *τὸν θεὸν, σιωπῶντα μὲν ἀνενέργητον, λαλοῦντα δὲ ἰσχύειν αὐτὸν βούλονται.* §. 11. vid. also §. 12. And Eusebius charges Marcellus with holding that *ὁ λόγος ἔνδον μένων ἐν ἡσυχάζοντι τῷ πατρὶ, ἐνεργῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τὴν κτίσιν δημιουργεῖν, ὁμοίως τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, ἐν σιωπῶσι μὲν ἡσυχάζοντι, ἐν δὲ φθεγγομένοις ἐνεργοῦντι.* p. 4, d. Eusebius objects elsewhere, that even human artificers can work in silence by an inward operation of their minds, p. 167, b; Athanasius makes the same remark, §. 11, d.

(4.) Again, we have above read a great deal of the *πλατυσμὸς* of the *μονὰς* in the flesh, and that by an *ἐνεργεία*; now this forms one distinct subject of a portion of the Fourth Oration, being contained in §§. 13, 14, and 25. *φησὶ γὰρ*, says Athanasius, *ὁ πατὴρ πλατύνεται εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα.* §. 25. *τίς ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ τοιούτου πλατυσμοῦ; φανήσεται ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γεγονὼς σὰρξ, εἴγε αὐτὸς μονὰς ὢν ἐν τῷ ἁ[redacted]πλατύνθη.* §. 14.

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(5.) Eusebius and S. Basil both mention Marcellus's doctrine of the Word's issuing from and returning to God; now Athanasius ascribes precisely the same language to the heretical creed he is discussing; viz. the doctrine of the Word as *προελθὼν* and *παλινδρομῶν*, of His *πρόοδος* and *ἀναδρομὴ*, that He *προεβάλλετο* and *ἀνακαλεῖται*, of His *γέννησις*, and (as he infers) of *παῦλα τῆς γεννήσεως*. §. 12. §. 4, e.

(6.) Marcellus, as we have seen above, lays a special stress upon the phrase *ἐν τῷ θεῷ*, as applied to the Word; so did the heretics opposed by Athanasius, vid. §. 12 throughout, §. 2 init. &c. §. 4, e.

(7.) Athanasius imputes to this doctrine, as its necessary consequence, if it be not pure Sabellianism, that it considers an attribute to be something real and independent in the Divine Nature, which therefore becomes *σύνθετος*; and this is the very consequence which Eusebius imputes to the doctrine of Marcellus. Athanasius: *κατὰ τοῦτο ἡ θεία μονὰς σύνθετος φανήσεται, τεμνομένη εἰς οὐσίαν καὶ συμβεβηκός*, §. 2; Eusebius: *σύνθετον ὥσπερ εἰσῆγεν τὸν θεὸν, οὐσίαν αὐτὸν ὑποτιθέμενος δίχα λόγου, συμβεβηκὸς δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὸν λόγον*. p. 121. vid. p. 149, d. And so Athanasius: *εἰ τοῦτο, πατὴρ μὲν ὅτε σοφὸς, υἱὸς δὲ ὅτε σοφία· ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ποιότης τις ταῦτα ἐν τῷ θεῷ*. §. 2. Eusebius: *εἰ δ' ἦν καὶ ταὐτὸν ἦν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις σοφία, ἕξις οὖσα σοφὴ ἐν αὐτῷ νοουμένη, καθὸ σοφὸς ὁ θεὸς, τὶ ἐκωλύεν. κ. τ. λ.* p. 150, b.

(8.) Eusebius says that Marcellus supported his doctrine by the pretence of defending the *μοναρχία*, p. 109, b; and Athanasius opens his Oration by shewing how the *μοναρχία* is preserved inviolate in the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity.

(9.) Marcellus, as we have seen, insisted on the temporary nature of Christ's kingdom, or its beginning and ending; and Athanasius alludes to a similar doctrine on the part of the heretics against whom he is writing, §. 8. implying that they assign a beginning of being and of rule to the Son.

(10.) Marcellus denies that the Word is called Son, &c. in the Old Testament; Euseb. p. 131, b. pp. 83—101. pp. 134—140; and so did the heretics opposed by Athanasius, §§. 23—29.

(11.) Marcellus evaded the force of such texts in the Old Testament as spoke of the Son, the Christ, &c. by saying that they were anticipations; he says, *εἰ δέ τις, καὶ πρὸ τῆς νέας διαθήκης, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ δεικνύναι δύνασθαι ἐπαγγέλλοιτο, εὑρήσει τοῦτο προφητικῶς εἰρημένον*. Euseb. p. 82, a. And therefore it was that in Rom. 1, 4. he read *προορισθεὶς* for *ὁρισθεὶς*. vid. supr. p. 114, note c. also p. 119, ref. 2. vid. R. S. C.'s Observ. p. 10. Epiphanius says of Photinus too that he considered the Old Testament text written *προκαταγγελτικῶς, προχρηστικῶς*. p. 830. And so on the other hand Athanasius of his anonymous heretics: *ἀλλὰ ναί, φασι, κεῖται μὲν, προφητικῶς δὲ ἔστω*. §. 24.

(12.) When Psalm 109, (110,) 3. was urged against Marcellus, he explained "Lucifer" of the Star which preceded the Magi. Euseb. p. 48, b. vid. Epiphan. Hær. p. 833, a. Athanasius devotes two sections to an examination of that text, §§. 27, 28.

(13.) It may be well to add, that the view taken of Sabellianism by S. Athanasius, as contrasted with the doctrine of Marcellus, is identical with the foregoing statements of Eugenius, S. Basil, and Eusebius. *Σαβελλίου τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα*, says Athanasius, *τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ πατέρα*

λέγοντος, καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀναιροῦντος, ὅτε μὲν υἱὸς, τὸν πατέρα, ὅτε δὲ πατὴρ, τὸν υἱόν. §. 9. INTROD TO DISC. IV.

These are not all the coincidences which might be drawn out between Athanasius's Fourth Oration on the one hand, and the writers against Marcellus and Photinus on the other; and they surely make it clear that against the Photinians, and not against the Arians, that work is directed. Nor is it an objection of much weight, that S. Athanasius is not recorded to have written against them, nor against the earlier heresies which originated them, a circumstance which Montfaucon urges against the genuineness of the contra Sabellii gregales. For if the *matter of fact* is so, that this Oration does treat of Sabellianism and its offshoots, and if it certainly is genuine which no one denies, testimony on the point is superfluous, and the absence of it may need an explanation but can prove nothing. Such an explanation, however, is afforded in Sirmond's remark upon S. Jerome's silence concerning Eusebius's Tracts against Sabellius, De infinitis voluminibus, he says, quæ ab Eusebio edita testatur, pauca, certè non omnia [Hieronymum] commemorâsse. Opp. t. 1. init.

Additional evidence, just now alluded to, of a minute character, is contained in some of the notes which follow; in which too is pointed out such matters as may be considered, so far as they go, to detract from its force.

It may be right, before concluding, to subjoin a short analysis of the general contents of the Oration.

(1) Seven sections, §§. 1-5, 9, 10, are upon the Monarchia, and the cognate subjects of the Divine unity, simplicity and integrity, and the generation of the Son; of these one, §. 4, and part of another, §. 3, are addressed to the Arians; the rest are directed against the Sabellian schools of the day.

(2) Two sections, §§. 6 and 7, are expressly directed against the Arians, and are unconnected with the context of the book before and after them.

(3) Three other sections, §§. 8, 11, 12, contrast the opposite schools with each other, dwelling chiefly on the Sabellian.

(4) Three others, §§. 13, 14, 25, are on a prominent tenet of Sabellius and Marcellus.

(5) The rest of the book, being (with the interposition of one section) twenty-one continuous sections, is on one subject, viz. the identity of the Word with the Son, as denied by the school of Marcellus and Paul of Samosata, §§. 15-24, 26-29.

DISCOURSE IV.

Subject I.

The doctrine of the Monarchia implies or requires, not negatives, the substantial existence of the Word and Son.

§§. 1—5.

The substantiality of the Word proved from Scripture. If the One Origin be substantial, Its Word is substantial. Unless the Word and Son be a second Origin, or a work, or an attribute (and so God be compounded), or at the same time Father, or involve a second nature in God, He is from God's Substance and distinct from Him. Illustration of John 10, 30. drawn from Deut. 4, 4.

§. 1. John 1, 1. Rom. 9, 5.

1. THE Word is from God[a]; for *the Word was God*, and again, *Of whom are the Fathers, and of whom Christ, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.* And since Christ[b] is God from God, and God's Word, Wisdom, Son, and Power, therefore but One God is declared in the divine Scriptures. For the Word, being Son of the One God, is referred[c] to Him of whom also He is; so that Father and Son are two,

[a] In this opening section, the abruptness of which shews that something was meant to precede it, the author is meeting the objection of Marcellus, (urged, e. g. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. pp. 68—70, 109, b. c. 119, d. 141, b.) that plurality of Persons involves plurality of Gods; which he here answers, by insisting on the *relation* of the Second Person to the First, i. e. as Eusebius, by the doctrine of the Monarchy.

[b] The introduction of the word "Christ" (vid also §§. 3 init. 4. c-e. 15, c. 19, b. 30 init.) seems to shew that he is combating a heresy which placed our Lord's personality in the manhood, which Arianism did not, but which Sabellius, Marcellus, Photinus, Nestorius, did. There is very little about "Christ" in the foregoing Discourses against the Arians. The text indeed which he here quotes from Scripture is rather directed against Arians (vid. Orat. i. p. 193. Serap. ii. 2.) than against Sabellians, but he seems to mean it to be an admission to them, lest he should be thought to deny it. It must be granted also, that in one place referred to he uses the word "Christ" when arguing against the Arians, though this is not unnatural, when it has once occurred. Nor must it be forgotten that S. Hilary uses Christus commonly for our Lord's divine nature. vid. Bened. Præf. p. xlii.

[c] *εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.* vid. Nazianz. Orat. 20, 7. Damasc. F. O. i. 8. p. 140. Theod. Abulc. Opusc 42. p. 542. And so *ἀνάγεται.* Naz. Orat. 42, 15. And *ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀνατίμψῃ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐθεντίαν.* Euseb. Eccl. Theol. i. p. 84. though in an heretical sense. vid. supr. p. 459, note a.

yet the Unity[1] of the Godhead is indivisible[d] and inseparable. And thus too we preserve One Origin[2] of Godhead and not two Origins, whence there is properly a divine Monarchy[e]. And of this very Origin the Word is by nature Son, not as if[2] ἀρχὴ another origin, subsisting by Himself, nor having come into being externally to that Origin, lest from that diversity a Dyarchy and Polyarchy should ensue; but of the one Origin He is proper Son, proper Wisdom, proper Word, existing from It. For, according to John, *in* that *Origin*[f] *was the Word, and the Word was with God*, for the Origin was God; and since He is from It, therefore also *the Word was God.*

SUBJ. I.

[1] μονάδα, unit.

2. And as there is one Origin and therefore one God, so one is that Substance and Subsistence[g] which indeed and truly and really is, and which said *I am that I am*[h], and not two, that there be not two Origins; and from the One, a Son in nature and truth, is Its proper Word, Its Wisdom, Its Power, and inseparable from It. And as there is not another substance, lest there be two Origins, so the Word which is from that One Substance has no dissolution[3], nor is a sound significative, but is a substantial Word and substantial Wisdom, which is the true Son. For were He not substantial, God would be speaking into the air, and having a body[i], in nothing differently[k] from men; but since He

[3] διαλυμένος

[d] μονάδα δὲ θέντος ἀδιαίρετον. This phrase, which occurs p. 515, r. 2. and is sufficiently distinctive to attract the attention of Petavius, vid. Dogm. t. i. pp. 248, 249. though found in other writers, appears to be from Marcellus, who urged it, and is often remarked on by Eusebius. vid. contr. Marc. p. 36, b. 107, b. 131, b. In p. 132, a. Marcellus justifies from Scripture the use of μονὰς to express Almighty God.

[e] The word *Monarchia* was used as a tessera by all parties; by the Sabellians, (as by Marcellus) against the Church and Arians; vid. supr. p. 45, note h; by Arians, which is surprising, against Catholics; Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 69; and by Catholics, as supr. p. 45. and here. Athan. attributes a Dyarchy to Marcion and Valentinus, de Syn. 52. supr. p. 153. Eusebius returns a like answer to Marcellus p. 109. as Athan. here to his nameless antagonist. The principle of the Catholic Monarchia is found infr. 17. οὐδὲν ἴσον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

[f] ἀρχὴ here means "origin," as commonly; and stands for the Almighty Father, as supr. ii. 57 fin. Origen. in Joan. t. i. 17. Method. ap. Phot. cod. 235. p. 940. Nyssen. in Eunom. p. 106. Cyril. Thesaur. 32. p. 312. Euseb. Eccl. Theol. ii. pp. 118, d. 123, a. and Jerome in Calmet on Ps. 109. Infr. §§. 8, 25, 26, 27. it must be translated "beginning."

[g] οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις; and so ἡ πατρικὴ οὐσ. καὶ ὑπ supr. p. 494, and note t. The word occurs several times towards the end of this Oration.

[h] This text is brought as an objection to any but the Sabellian view by Marcellus in Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 130, c. d.

[i] σῶμα ἔχων. vid. Euseb. εἰ πνεῦμα, κρεῖττον [τὸ] θεῖον πάντως συνθέτου σώματος contr. Marc. p. 5, d.

[k] οὐδὲν πλέον; and so Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 55, b. and infr. 17. πλεῖον οὐδὲν ὁ λόγος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔχει. Also 20, e. and Serap. ii. 1, b. On the classical use of the phrase vid. Blomf. Gloss. in Agam. 995.

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is not man, neither is His Word[1] according to the infirmity of man[1]. For as the Origin is one Substance, so Its Word is one, substantial, and subsisting, and Its Wisdom. For as He is God from God, and Wisdom from the Wise[m], and Word from the Rational, and Son from Father, so is He from Subsistence Subsistent, and from Substance Substantial and Substantive[2], and Being from Being.

[1] supr. p. 329.

[2] ἐνούσιος

§. 2. 3. Since were He not substantial Wisdom and substantive Word, and Son existing, but simply Wisdom and Word and Son in the Father[n], then the Father Himself would have a nature compounded of wisdom and reason[3]. But if so, the forementioned extravagances[4] would follow; and He will be His own Father[o], and the Son begetting and begotten by Himself; or Word, Wisdom, Son, is a name only, and He does not subsist who owns, or rather who is, these titles. If then He does not subsist, the names are idle and empty[5], unless we say that God is Very Wisdom[6] and Very Word[p]. But if so, He is His own Father and Son; Father, when Wise, Son, when Wisdom[q]; but these things are not in God

[3] λόγου, word.

[4] ἄτοπα

[5] p. 307, note d.

[6] p. 518, r. 2.

[1] In a somewhat similar passage, ad Ep. Æg. 16. he is arguing against, not Sabellians, but Arians.

[m] vid. contr. Sabell. Greg. §. 5, d. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. 17. Euseb. Eccl Theol. p. 150, a.

[n] ἐν τῷ πατρί. he is here opposing the usual formula of Sabellius and Marcellus, who substituted ἐν τῷ υἱῷ for the Scriptural πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. vid. supr. p. 509. (6.) infr. note q. ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ Basil. contr. Sabell. 1 fin.

[o] αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πατήρ. So Hipp. contr. Noet. 7. vid. also Euseb. in Marc. pp. 42, b. 61, a. 106, b. 119, d. υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι. supr. Orat. iii. 4 init. Ipsum sibi patrem, &c. Auct. Præd. (ap. Sirmond. Opp. t. i. p. 278. ed. Ven.) Mar. Marc. t. 2. p. 128. ed. 1673. Greg. Bœt. (ap. Worm. Hist. Sabell. p. 17.) Consult Zach. et Apoll. ii. 11. (ap. Dach. Spicil.) Porphyry uses αὐτοπάτωρ, but by a strong figure. Cyril. contr. Julian. p. 32. vid. Epiphan. in answer to Aetius on this subject. Hær. p. 937. It must be observed that several Catholic fathers seem to countenance such expressions, Zeno Ver. and Marius Vict. not to say S. Hilary and S. Augustine. vid. Thomassin. de Trin. 9. For υἱοπάτωρ vid. supr. p. 97, note k. to which add Nestor. Serm. 12. ap. Marc. Merc. t. 2. p. 87. and Ep. ad Martyr. ap. Bevereg. Synod. t. 2. Not. p. 100.

[p] Petavius considers that he here denies these titles to the Son, though elsewhere he attributes them. E. g. contr. Gent. 40, a. 46 fin. de Incarn. V. D. 20, b. Orat. ii. 78, d. 79, e. 80, e. Serap. iv. 20, c. If so, there is no inconsistency; he admits them, (vid. contr. Gent. 46.) *in contrast* to the σοφία, &c. of creatures; he denies them as implying defect in the Father, impersonality in the Son. Eusebius admits them Eccles. Theol. p. 121, c. and elsewhere.

[q] Vid. supr. note m. p. 515, note u. Serap. i. 20, d. Eusebius introduces mention of σόφος and σοφία in a similar way in Eccl. Theol. pp. 100, 150. He distinctly imputes to Marcellus the doctrine, here spoken of by Athan. viz. that the Son was τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ λόγον, καὶ ὃν λογικὸς νοεῖται. Eccl. Theol. pp. 90, b. 106, b. 110, d. 113, b. 130, a. 150, a. vid. supr. p. 208, note b. thus distinguishing him from Sabellius, as making the Word a quality, and God σύνθετος. ibid. p. 63, c. Cudworth maintains that this same doctrine was held by Plato and Photinus; Intell. Syst. iv. 36. (p. 675. ed. 1733.) nay, by S. Athanasius. Mosheim in loc. seems to defend Athan. Petavius imputes it to Athenagoras, Dogm. t. 2. p. 22. whom Bull defends, D. F. N. iii. 5. §. 5.

as a certain quality; away with the dishonourable[1] thought; for it will issue in this, that God is compounded of substance and quality[r]. For whereas all quality is in substance, it will clearly follow that the Divine One[2], indivisible as it is, must be compound, being severed into substance and accident[s]. SUBJ. I. [1] ἄκρατος p. 524. [2] r. 3. μονὰς

4. We must ask then these reckless men; The Son was proclaimed as God's Wisdom and Word; how then is He such? if as a quality, the extravagance has been shewn; but if God is that Very Wisdom, then it is the extravagance of Sabellius. Therefore He is as an Offspring in a proper sense from the Father Himself, according to the illustration of light. For as there is light from fire[t], so from God is there a Word, and Wisdom from the Wise[u], and from the Father a Son. For in this way the Unity[2] remains undivided and entire[x], and Its Son and Word, is not unsubstantive, nor not subsisting, but substantial truly.

[r] So σύνθετον τὸν θεὸν ἐκ ποιότητος καὶ οὐσίας λέγειν, ad Afros. 8. vid. the whole passage, which, however, is directed against, not Sabellians, but Arians. This is the point of heresy in which the two agreed, vid. supr. p. 41, note e. However, the argument is not exactly the same. For that ad Afros. vid. Basil. Ep. 8, 3. and Cyril. Thes. p. 134. Here he is referring to the great doctrine, or rather mystery, that Christ is ὅλος θεὸς, "all God," as fully and entirely the one infinitely simple, all-perfect Being, as if there were no Person in the Godhead but He; not an attribute, habit, or the like, which would be making attributes real distinctions in the Divine Nature, not aspects (as they are) under which we men necessarily view that Nature. This the Sabellians seemed to hold, and thus made It compound. Vid. in like manner supr. p. 334, note y. Epiph. Hær. 73. p. 852. Cyril. Thes. p. 145. Basil. contr. Sabell. 1. Nyssen. contr. Eunom. i. p. 69. App Max. Cap. de Carit. t. i. p. 445 Damasc. F. O. i. 13. p. 151.

[s] So Eusebius of Marcellus, σύνθετον εἰσῆγεν τὸν θεὸν, οὐσίαν δίχα λόγου, συμβεβηκὸς δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τὸν λόγον Eccl. Theol. p. 121, b. c. Vid. however Athan. speaking of Arians, de decr. 22. supr. p. 38, note y. (where Eusebius's opinion has been misstated; vid. also Demonstr. v. pp. 213, c. 215, a.) Also supr. p. 493, and notes q, r, s. ad Ep. Æg. §. 16, a.

[t] vid. infr. §. 10 fin. this is unusual with Athanasius, who commonly speaks of Light and its Radiance. vid. supr. p. 39, note b.

[u] Pater verax, Filius veritas; quid est amplius, verax an veritas. Pius homo plus est, an pietas? sed plus est ipsa pietas; pius enim à pietate, non pietas à pio. Plus est pulchritudo quàm pulcher. Castitas planè plus est quàm castus. Numquid dicturi sumus plus Veritas quàm Verax? si hoc dixerimus, Filium incipiemus dicere Patre majorem. Verax enim Pater non ab eâ veritate verax est cujus partem cepit, sed quam totam genuit. August. in Joann. 39, 7. vid. also Ambros. de Fid. v. n. 29.

[x] It has been observed, p. 326, note g. that the Mystery of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is not merely a verbal contradiction, but an incompatibility in the human ideas conveyed by them. We can scarcely make a nearer approach to an exact enunciation of it, than that of saying that one thing is two things. The Father is all that is God; He is the One, Eternal, Infinite Being, absolutely and wholly. And His Nature is most simple and free from parts and passions. Yet this One God is also the Son, and He is the One God as absolutely and wholly as the Father, yet without being the Father. In this world we have often great changes in the same being, so that he is one thing

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5. For unless it were so, all that is said would be said only in notion[1] and without a meaning[2]. But if we must avoid that extravagance, then is a true Word substantial. For as there is a Father truly, so Wisdom truly. In this respect then they are two; not because, as Sabellius said, Father and Son are the same, but because the Father is Father and the Son Son[y]; and they are one, because He is Son of the Substance of the Father by nature, existing as His proper Word. This the Lord said, viz. *I and the Father are One;* for neither is the Word separated from the Father, nor was or is the Father ever Wordless; on this account He says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me.*

[1] κατ' ἐπίνοιαν p. 333, note u.

[2] ἀνάλως p. 254, note l.

John 10, 30.

John 14, 10.

§. 3. 6. And again, Christ[z] is the Word of God. Did then He subsist by Himself, and after subsisting was joined to the Father, or did God make Him and call Him His Word? If the former, I mean, if He subsisted by Himself and is God, then there are two Origins; and moreover, as is plain, He is not proper to the Father, as being not of the Father, but of Himself. But if on the contrary He be made externally[3], then is He a creature. It remains then to say that He is from God Himself; but if so, that which is from another is one thing, and that from which it is, is a second; according to this then there are two. But if they be not two, but belong to the same, cause[4] and effect will be the same, and begotten and begetting, which has been shewn absurd in the instance of Sabellius. But if He be from Him, yet not another, He will be both begetting and not begetting; begetting because He produces from Himself, and not begetting, because it is nothing other than Himself. But if so, the same is called Father and Son notionally. But if it be unseemly so to say, Father and Son must be two; and they are one, because the Son is not from without, but begotten of God.

[3] ἔξωθεν

[4] αἴτια

7. But if any one shrinks from saying "Offspring[a]," and

at one time, and another at another; but the Unchangeable God is Three all at once, and that Three Persons.

[y] vid. pp. 211, 212, notes f and g. and p. 416, note e.

[z] Here, as in beginning of §. 1. "Christ," not "the Word," is made the subject of the sentence. vid. p. 512, *note b.*

[a] vid. supr. p. 37, note k; to which it may be added that S. Basil seems to have changed his mind, for he uses the Word in Hom. contr. Sabell. t. 2. p. 192, c. It is remarkable that this Homily in substance (i. e. the contr. Sabell. Greg. which is so like it that it cannot really be another, unless S. Basil copies it) is given to S. Athan.

only says that the Word exists with God, let such a one fear lest, shrinking from what is said in Scripture, he fall into an extravagance, making God a being of double nature[1]. For not granting that the Word is from the Unity[2], but simply as if He were joined[b] to the Father, He introduces a duality[3] of substance[c], and neither of them Father of the other. And the same of power[4]. And we may see this more clearly, if we consider it with reference to the Father; for there is One Father, and not two, but from that One the Son. As then there are not two Fathers, but One[d], so not two Origins, but One, and from that One the Son substantial.

Subj. I.

[1] διφυῆ τινά

[2] μόνας, one, or unit.

[3] δυάδα

[4] vid. p. 501.

8. But the Arians we must ask contrariwise: (for the Sabellianizers must be confuted from the notion of a Son, and the Arians from that of a Father[e]:) let us say then—Is God wise and not word-less: or on the contrary is He wisdom-less and word-less[5]? if the latter, there is an extravagance at once; if the former, we must ask, how is He wise and not word-less? does He possess the Word and the Wisdom from without, or from Himself? If from without, there must be one who first gave to Him, and before He received He was wisdom-less and word-less. But if from Himself, it is plain that the Word is not from nothing, nor once was not; for He was ever; since He of whom He is the Image, exists ever. But if they say that He is indeed wise and not word-less, but that He has in Himself His proper Wisdom and proper Word, and that, not Christ, but that by which He made Christ[6], we must answer that, if Christ in that Word was brought to be, plainly so were all things;

§. 4.

[5] p. 208, note b.

[6] p. 512, note b.

[b] συνελλῆσθαι τῷ πατρὶ λόγον. So Eusebius of Marcellus, ἡνωμένον τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ. pp. 4 fin. 32, a. &c. vid. next note.

[c] Athanasius here retorts upon the Sabellian schools the objection of the Monarchia, observing that the fact of the derivation of One Person from the Other is that which preserves in fact the numerical Unity unimpaired, as described just above, note x. vid. also p. 402, note g. Not that we can understand *how* it does this. Eusebius objects to Marcellus his holding the συναίδιον. Eccl. Theol. pp. 119, c. d. 163. d. λόγον ἴσχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἡνωμένον καὶ συμμένον αὐτῷ φησὶν, ὡς δυάδην τινὰ καὶ σύνθετον οὐσίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι. p. 63, c. And so Athan. in the text, διφυῆ τινα εἰσάγων τὸν υἱὸν . . δυάδα οὐσίας εἰσάγει.

[d] οὐ δύο πατέρες, ἀλλ' εἷς. So Eusebius against Marcellus, οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται δύο πατέρας εἶναι, οὐδὲ δύο υἱούς. p. 109, c.

[e] That is, since the Sabellians denied our Lord's substantive existence, and the Arians His divinity, to dwell upon a father's communication of nature to his children, was the mode of shewing our Lord's divinity, and to dwell on the idea of a son was the mode of shewing (vid. Euseb. in Marc. i. 4. p. 19.) that He was no abstraction or attribute, but a living subsistence.

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John 1, 3. Ps. 104, 24. [1] φασὶ. μένος John 1, 14.

9. But if they say that Wisdom is in the Father as a quality or that He is Very Wisdom [2], the extravagances will follow already mentioned. For He will be compound [3], and will become His own Son and Father [4]. Moreover, we must confute and silence them on the ground, that the Word which is in God [5] cannot be a creature nor out of nothing. But if the Word be but in God, then He must be Christ who says, *I am in the Father and the Father in Me*, who also is therefore the Only-begotten, since no other is begotten from Him. He is the One Son, who is Word, Wisdom, Power; for God is not compounded of these, but is generative [6] of them. For as He frames the creatures by the Word, so according to the nature of His proper Substance has He the Word as an Offspring, through whom He frames and creates and dispenses all things. For by the Word and the Wisdom all things came to be, and all things together remain according to His ordinance. And the same concerning the word "Son;" if God be without Son [7], then is He without Work; for the Son is His Offspring through whom He works [8]; but if not, the same questions and the same extravagances will follow their audacity.

[2] p. 514, r. 5. [3] p. 514, note q. p. 524, r. 2. [4] p. 524, r. 4. [5] arg. ad hom. vid. p. 510. (6.) [6] γεννητικὸς, p. 495, r. 2. [7] ἄγονος, p. 284, note e. [8] p. 338. p. 416, note f. p. 422, note l.

§. 5. 10. From Deuteronomy; *But ye that did attach yourselves unto the Lord your God are alive every one of you this day.* From this we may see the difference, and know that the Son of God is not a creature. For the Son says, *I and the Father are One*, and, *I in the Father, and the Father in Me;* but things generate, when they make advance, are attached unto the Lord. The Word then is in the Father as

Deut. 4, 4.

being proper to Him; but things generate, being external, are attached, as being by nature foreign, and attached by free choice[1]. For a son which is by nature, is one[2] with him who begat him; but he who is from without, and is made a son, will be attached to the family. Therefore he immediately adds, *What nation is there so great who hath God drawing nigh unto them?* and elsewhere, *I a God drawing nigh;* for to things generate He draws nigh, as being strange to Him, but to the Son, as being proper to Him, He does not draw nigh, but He is in Him. And the Son is not attached to the Father, but co-exists with Him; whence also Moses says again in the same Deuteronomy, *Ye shall obey His voice, and apply yourselves unto Him;* but what is applied, is applied from without.

SUBJ. I.

[1] γενεσι

[2] ἑνὸς p. 219, note b.

Deut. 4, 7. Sept. Jer. 23, 23. Sept.

Deut. 13, 4.

Subject II.

Texts explained against the Arians, viz. Matt. xxviii. 18. *Phil.* ii. 9. *Eph.* i. 20.

§§. 6, 7.

When the Word and Son hungered, wept, and was wearied, He acted as our Mediator, taking on Him what was ours, that He might impart to us what was His.

Disc. IV. §. 6. Matt. 28, 18. Phil. 2, 9. Eph. 1, 20.

1. And in answer to the weak and human notions of the Arians, their supposing that the Lord is in want, when He says, *Is given unto Me*, and *I received*, and if Paul says, *Wherefore hath He highly exalted Him*, and *He set Him at the right hand*, and the like, we must say, that our Lord, being Word and Son of God, bore a body, and became Son of man, that, having become Mediator between God and men, He might minister[1] the things of God to us, and ours to God. When then He is said to hunger and weep and weary, and to cry Eloi, Eloi, which are our human affections, He receives them from us and offers to the Father[2], interceding for us, that in Him they may be annulled[3]. And when it is said, *All power is given unto Me*, and *I received*, and *Wherefore hath God highly exalted Him*, these are gifts[4] given from God to us through Him. For the Word was never in want[5], nor came into being[6]; nor again were men sufficient to minister[7] these things for themselves, but through the Word they are given to us; therefore, as if given to Him, they are imparted to us. For this was the reason of His becoming man, that, as being given to Him, they might be transferred to us[8]. For of such gifts mere[9] man had not become worthy; and again the mere Word had not needed them[10]; the Word then was united to us, and then imparted to us power, and highly exalted us[11]. For the Word being in man, highly exalted man himself[12]; and, when the Word was in man, man himself received. Since then, the Word being in flesh, man himself was exalted, and received power, therefore these things are referred to the Word, since they were given on

[1] διακονῇ

[2] pp. 23, 291, 294.

[3] p. 447. and note u. p. 449.

[4] χαρίσματα

[5] p. 242 init.

[6] pp. 242, 374, 377.

[7] διακονῆσαι

[8] pp. 240, 245.

[9] ψιλὸς

[10] pp. 250, 455.

[11] pp. 239, 245.

[12] τὸν ἄνθρωπον

His account; for on account of the Word in man were these gifts[1] given. And as *the Word became flesh*, so also man himself received the gifts which came through the Word. For all that man himself has received, the Word is said to have received[2]; that it might be shewn, that man himself, being unworthy to receive, as far as his own nature is concerned, yet has received because of the Word become flesh. Wherefore if any thing be said to be given to the Lord, or the like, we must consider that it is given, not to Him as needing it, but to man himself through the Word. For every one who intercedes for another, receives the gift in his own person[3], not as needing, but on his account for whom he intercedes.

SUBJ. II.

[1] χαρίσματα

John 1, 14.

[2] p. 455.

[3] αὐτὸς

2. For as He takes our infirmities, not being infirm[4], and hungers not hungering, but offers up what is ours that it may be abolished, so the gifts which come from God instead of our infirmities, doth He too Himself receive, that man, being united to Him, may be able to partake them. Hence it is that the Lord says, *All things whatsoever Thou hast given Me, I have given them*, and again, *I pray for them*. For He prayed for us, having taken on Him what is ours, and He gave while He received. Since then, the Word being united to man himself[5], the Father, regarding Him, vouchsafed to man to be exalted, to have all power and the like, therefore are referred to the Word, and are as if given to Him, all things which through Him we receive. For as He for our sake became man, so we for His sake are exalted. It is no extravagance then, if, as for our sake He humbled Himself, so also for our sake He is said to be highly exalted. So *He gave to Him*, that is, "to us for His sake;" *and He highly exalted Him*, that is, "us in Him." And the Word Himself, when we are exalted, and receive, and are succoured, as if He Himself were exalted and received and were succoured, gives thanks to the Father, referring what is ours to Himself, and saying, *All things, whatsoever Thou hast given Me, I have given unto them*[a].

§. 7.

[4] pp. 359-444, &c.

John 17, 7—9.

[5] τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

Phil. 2, 9.

John 17, 7. 8.

[a] Similar as these two sections are to passages in the foregoing Orations, as shewn in the marginal references, yet many distinctions might be drawn between them; e. g. there is no mention of man's διανοίαις here, or of his perseverings abidance in holiness, (ἵνα διαμείνῃ.) which occurs so frequently above. διαμονὴ is used infr. p. 552. Again, the use of διανοίαις, χαρίσματα is novel, &c.

Subject III.

Comparison of Photinians with Arians.

§. 8.

Arians date the Son's beginning earlier than the Photinians.

Disc. IV. §. 8.

1. The Eusebians[a], that is, the Ario-maniacs, ascribing a beginning of being to the Son, yet pretend not to wish Him to have a beginning of kingly power. But this is ridiculous; for he who ascribes to the Son a beginning of being, very plainly ascribes to Him also a beginning of kingly power; so blind are they, confessing what they deny. Again, those who say that the Son is only a name, and that the Son of God, that is, the Word of the Father, is unsubstantial and non-subsistent, pretend to be angry with those who say, "Once He was not." This is ridiculous also; for they who give Him no being at all, are angry with those who at least grant Him to be in time[b]. Thus these also confess what they deny, in the act of censuring the others. And again the Eusebians, confessing a Son, deny that He is the Word by nature, and would have the Son called Word notionally[1]; and the others confessing Him to be Word, deny Him to be Son, and would have the Word called Son notionally, equally groping in the void.

[1] κατ' ἐπίνοιαν

[a] *οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον.* vid. supr. p. 501. Such as Eusebius of Cæsarea may be glanced at, who brings with great indignation the charge against Marcellus, of his considering our Lord as *βασιλεὺς* only from His incarnation, i. 1. p. 6. ii. p. 32, c. or that His Kingdom had a beginning, pp. 49, 50, 54.

[b] On this difference between Sabellians and Arians, vid. supr. p. 114, note b. The pre-existence of the Son is the main point urged against Marcellus by Eusebius throughout his work, who makes much of what is in fact the distinguishing mark between their respective heresies. Athan. urges it as a *reductio ad absurdum* against the Arian interpretation of Phil. ii. 9, 10. that it really led to a denial of this doctrine, supr. p. 234.

Subject IV.

(*Being Subject* 1. *continued.*)

§§. 9, 10.

Unless Father and Son are two in name only, or as parts and so each imperfect, or two gods, they are consubstantial, one in Godhead, and the Son from the Father.

1. *I and the Father are One*[a]. That two are one, you say, is either that one has two names, or again one is divided into two[b]. Now if one is divided into two, that which is divided must need be a body, and neither of the two perfect, for each is a part and not a whole[c]. But if again one have two names, this is the expedient[d] of Sabellius, who said that Son and Father were the same, and denied Each of Them, the Father when he confessed a Son, and the Son when he confessed a Father. But if the two are one, then of necessity while there are two, there is one according to the Godhead, and according to the Son's consubstantiality[1] to the Father, and the Word's being from the Father Himself[e]; so that §. 9. John 10, 3.

[1] ὁμοούσιον

[a] This and the next section are in great part a repetition of Orat. iii. 4. but with differences which are remarkable; as written at different times against different opponents. Mention is made of σοφία and σοφὸς here, and not there; the objection of "two gods" is not found there as being written against the Arians. A more striking difference in regard to the word ὁμοούσιον is noticed infr. note h. An illustration is taken from fire here, from light there.

[b] This doctrine is imputed to Hieracas supr. p. 97. to Valentinus, though in a different sense, by Nazianz. Orat. 33, 16. Vid. also Clement. Recogn. i. 69.

[c] contr. Sabell. Greg. §. 6, c.

[d] Σαβελλίου τὸ ἐνιστήσιμα, and so infr. 15. Ἀρειανῶν τὸ ῥῆμα, and 23. Μανιχαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ ἐνιστήσιμα. Again, τοῦ Σαμοσάτεως τὸ ῥῆμα. Orat. i. 38. Ἑλληνικὸν τὸ ῥῆμα. Orat. ii. 22 init. Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀρειανῶν ἡ τοιαύτη φλύη. ad Adelph. 3 init. Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. contr. Apoll. ii. 11 fin. Οὐαλεντίνου τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα. Serap. i. 10, b. vid. also Orat. iii. 39, c. 50, b. 51, e. Serap. i. 20, d. ii. 2 init. On the contrary, οὐκ ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ νοῦς χριστιανῶν. iii. 7 fin.

[e] He is laying down the Catholic explanation of Oneness in contrast to those heretical or hypothetical statements with which he commenced the chapter; viz. that the Godhead is numerically one, that there is one substance, and that there is but one ἀρχὴ or πηγὴ διότητος.

Disc. IV. there are two, because there is Father and Son[f], that is, the Word[g], and one because one God[1]. For if this is not so, He would have said, *I am the Father*, or *I and the Father am;* but, in fact, in the *I* He signifies the Son, and in the *And the Father*, Him who begat Him; and in the *One* the one Godhead and His consubstantiality[h]. For the Same is not, as the Gentiles hold, Wise and Wisdom[2]; or the Same Father and Word; for it were unsuitable[3] for Him to be His own Father[4]; but the divine teaching knows Father and Son, and Wise and Wisdom, and God and Word; while it altogether guards His indivisible and inseparable and indissoluble nature in all things.

[1] p. 515, note x. John 14, 10.

[2] p. 518, r. 3.

[3] p. 515, r. 1.

[4] p. 514, note o.

§. 10. 2. But if any one, on hearing that the Father and the Son are two, misrepresent us as preaching two Gods[i], (for this is what some feign to themselves, and forthwith cry out scoffingly, "You hold two Gods,") we must answer to such, If to acknowledge Father and Son, is to hold two Gods, it instantly[5] follows that to confess but one, we must deny the Son and Sabellianise. For if to speak of two, is to fall into Gentilism, therefore if we speak of one, we must fall into Sabellianism. But this is not so; perish the thought! but, as when we say that Father and Son are two, we still confess one God, so when we say that there is one God, let us consider Father and Son two, while they are one in the Godhead, and in the Father's Word, being indissoluble and indivisible and inseparable from Him. And let the fire and the radiance from it be a similitude of man, which are two in being and in appearance, but one in that its radiance is from it indivisibly.

[5] ὥρα, p. 415, note c.

[f] vid. latter part of note f at p. 211 supr. on S. Gregory Nyssen's statement that "the First Person in the Holy Trinity is not God, considered as Father."

[g] Which Marcellus, as other heretics, denied. vid. supr. p. 41, note e.

[h] Here again is the word ὁμοούσιον. Contrast the language of Orat. iii. when commenting on the same text, in the same way; e. g. Ἐν τῇ ἰδιότητι καὶ οἰκειότητι τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος, §. 4.

[i] Marcellus urged this against, to say the least, the Arian doctrine, Euseb. p. 69. and Eusebius retorts it upon him, p. 119, d. also p. 109.

Subject V.

(*Being Subject* 3. *continued.*)

§§. 11, 12.

Photinians, like Arians, say that the Word was, not indeed created, but developed, to create us, as if the Divine silence were a state of inaction, and when God spake by the Word, He acted; or that there was a going forth and return of the Word; a doctrine which implies change and imperfection in Father and Son.

1. THEY[a] fall into the same folly with the Arians; for §. 11.
Arians also say that He was created for us, that He might create[b] us, as if God waited till our creation for His development[c], as the one party say, or His creation, as the other. Arians then are more bountiful to us than to the Son; for, they say, not we for His sake, but He for ours, came to be; that is, if He was therefore created and subsisted, that God through Him might create us[d]. And these, as irreligious or more so, give to God less than to us. For we oftentimes, even when silent, yet are active in thinking, so that the offspring of our thoughts form themselves into images; but God[e] they would have, when silent to be inactive, and when he speaks then to exert strength; if so it be that, when silent, He could do nothing, and when speaking He began to create.

[a] That is, the school of Marcellus and Photinus.

[b] Even Eusebius takes this view. vid. supr. p. 62, note f. vid. also a clear and eloquent passage in the Eccl. Theol. 1, 8. also 13. to shew that our Lord was brought into being before all creation, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὅλων. vid. also iii. pp. 153, 4. Vid. supr. p. 316, note c.

[c] ἵνα προβάληται; on the Valentinian προβολὰ, development or issue, vid. supr. p. 97, note h. If the word here allude to Sabellius and Marcellus, it is used as an *arg. ad invidiam*; Valentinus and Sabellius are put together (as Valentinus and Marcellus, Euseb. Eccl. Theol. ii. 9.) by S. Alexander, παῖς τομαῖς ἢ παῖς ἀποῤῥοίαις ὥσπερ Σαβιλλίῳ καὶ Βαλεντίνῳ δοκεῖ. Theodor. Hist. i. 3. p. 743. vid. also Euseb. p. 114, c. For other reasons Valentinus is compared by S. Athan. to the Arians, supr. pp. 262, 486, 492.

[d] vid. Cyril. de Trin. iv. p. 536. vi. p. 616. in Joann. p. 45. Naz. Orat. 23, 7. 42, 17.

[e] Eusebius makes the same remark against Marcellus; ἐπεὶ, καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν δημιουργῶν, καὶ εἰσι πῶποτε, τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν ἔργα καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς πάρεστι δημιουργοῦσι, τί οὖν ἐκώλυε καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτω πως τὰ πάντα συστήσασθαι. ἔχοντα ἐν αὑτῷ τὸν λόγον; Eccl. Theol. p. 167, b.

Disc. IV.

2. Moreover it is right to ask them, whether the Word, when He was in God, was perfect, so as to be able to make. If on the one hand He was imperfect, when in God, but by being begotten became perfect[1], we are the cause of His perfection, that is, if He has been begotten for us; for on our behalf He has received the power of making. But if He was perfect in God, so as to be able to make, His generation is superfluous; for He, even when in the Father, could frame the world; so that either He has not been begotten, or He was begotten, not for us, but because He ever is from the Father. For His generation evidences, not that we were created, but that He is from God; for He was even before our creation. And the same presumption will be proved against them concerning the Father; for if, when silent, He could not make, of necessity He has by begetting gained power[f], that is, by speaking. And whence has He gained it? and wherefore[g]? If, when He had the Word within Him, He could make, He begets needlessly, being able to make even in silence.

[1] p. 108, note l. p. 201, note c.

§. 12.

3. Next, if the Word was in God before He was begotten, then being begotten He is without and external to Him. But if so, how says He now, *I in the Father and the Father in Me?* but if He is now in the Father, then always was He in the Father, as He is now, and needless is it to say, "For us was He begotten, and He reverts after we are formed, that He may be as He was." For He was not any thing which He is not now, nor is He what He was not; but He is as He ever was, and in the same state and in the same respects; otherwise He will seem to be imperfect and alterable[h]. For if, what He was, that He shall be afterwards, as if now He were it not, it is plain, He is not now what He

John 14, 10.

[f] The same general doctrine is opposed, though by different arguments, in Euseb. Eccl. Eccles. pp. 113, 114. Neander assumes, Church Hist. 3 cent. (vol. 2. p. 277, &c. Rose's transl.) that these sections are directed against Sabellius.

[g] The same class of objections is urged by Eusebius against Marcellus; ἐν ὑποσίᾳ δὲ ἦν καταστάσει ὁ θεὸς, μὴ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν υἱὸν λόγον. . . ὁ θεὸς ἔσται ἑαυτῷ ἀνόμοιος. pp. 113, 114. Athan. urges the same argument against the Arians, supra Orat. ii. p. 335, c. and S. Basil. contr. Eunom. ii. p. 664. as Origen at an earlier date, as quoted by Marcellus, Euseb. contr. M. p. 22. εἰ γὰρ διὰ τίλυσε ὁ θεὸς, . . τί ἀναβάλλεται. (vid. R. S. C. Observ. p. 20. Lips. 1787.)

[h] τρεπτός. We have seen, supr. p. 230. that the Arians applied this word to our Lord; this argument however takes it for granted that it cannot be so applied, or is *reductio ad absurdum*, i. e. *ad Arianismum*, and shews, if additional proofs are wanting, that the Arian is not the heresy here contemplated.

was and shall be. I mean, if He was before in God, and afterwards shall be again, it follows that now the Word is not in God[1]. But our Lord refutes such persons when He says, *I in the Father and the Father in Me;* for so is He now as He ever was. But if so He now is, as He was ever, it follows, not that at one time He was begotten and not at another, nor that once there was silence with God, and then He spake, but there is ever a Father[1], and a Son who is His Word, not in name[2] alone a Word, nor the Word in notion[3] only a Son, but existing consubstantial[4] with the Father, not begotten for us, for we are brought into being for Him. SUBJ. V.

[1] p. 211, note f.
[2] *ὀνόματι* p. 307, note d.
[3] *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* p. 333, note u.
[4] *ὁμοούσιος* p. 534, note h.

4. For, if He were begotten for us, and in His begetting we were created, and in His generation the creature consists, and then He returns that He may be what He was before, first, He that was begotten will be again not begotten. For if His progression be generation, His return will be the close[5] of that generation[k], for when He has become in God, God will be silent again. But if He shall be silent, there will be what there was when He was silent, stillness and not creation, for the creation will come to a close. For, as on the Word's outgoing, the creation came to be, and existed, so on the Word's retiring, the creation will not exist[l]. What use then that it should be made, if it will close? or why did God speak, that then He should be silent? and why did He develope whom He recalls? and why did He beget whose generation He willed to close? Again it is uncertain what He shall be. Either He will ever be silent, or He will again beget, and will devise a second creation, (for He will not make the same, else that which was made would have remained,) but another; and in due course He will bring that also to a close, and will devise another, and so on without end[6].

[5] *τέλος* p. 329, r. 2.
[6] *εἰς ἄπειρον* p. 379, r. 1.

[1] And so *ἅμα μὴ ὢν ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῇ σαρκὶ συνῆν*; Euseb. contr. Maro. p. 54, c. vid. also p. 167, a.

[k] *τέλος τῆς γενέσεως*. The Catholic doctrine of the *διαγωγὴ* is stated supr. p. 201, note b. vid. also p. 495, r. 2. Didymus however says, *οὐκ εἰς γενέσεως*, de Trin. iii. 3. p. 338. but with the intention of maintaining our Lord's perfection (supr. p. 201, note c.) and eternity, as Hil. Trin. ii. 20. Naz. Orat. 20. 9 fin. Basil de Sp. S. n. 20 fin. It is remarkable that Pope Gregory objects to Semper nascitur as implying imperfection, and prefers Semper natus est. Moral. 29. but this is a question of words.

[l] Marcellus's doctrine suggests a parallel line of thought to Eusebius. He says that, all immortality depending on the Son, if the Son cease to be, the Saints will lose Him in whom they live; *οὐ δίχα τοῦ χριστοῦ, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμεῖς, πάντα τὰ ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ καινωνίας*, p. 34, b. d. *οὐκ ἔστι λαλήσει τοῖς ἁγίοις ὁ θεὸς τότε, οὐδὲ χρήσεται ἐνεργῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ*; p. 115, c.

Subject VI.

The Sabellian doctrine of dilatation and contraction.

§§. 13, 14.

Such a doctrine precludes all real distinctions of personality in the Divine Nature. Illustration of the Scripture doctrine from 2 Cor. 6, 11, &c.

Disc. IV.

§. 13.

1 ἀτιλαβῶς παύεσθαι qu. π., ἀ.
2 πάθος.
3 μονάς
4 τριάς

1. This perhaps he borrowed[a] from the Stoics, who maintain that their God collapses and again expands[b] with the creation, and then rests without end[1]. For what is dilated, is first straitened; and what is expanded, is first in collapse; and it is what it was, and does but undergo an affection[2]. If then the One[3] being dilated became a Three[4], and the One was the Father, and the Three is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, first the One being dilated, underwent an affection and became what it was not; for it was dilated, whereas it was not dilated. Next, if the One itself was dilated into a Three[c], and that, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, then Father

[a] ὑπίλαβε. Here an anonymous opponent is abruptly introduced; also 14. ἴρισθαι αὐτὸν καλόν. vid. Introduct. to this Oration, supr. p. 501. However abrupt, this section seems to be a continuation of the foregoing, as the words παύσει . . . εἰς ἄπειρον there, and ἀπείρως παύεσθαι here, shew.

[b] And so κατὰ ἔκτασιν καὶ συστολὴν ἡ μονὰς δυὰς εἶναι νομίζεται. Clementin. xvi. 12. vid. Neander Church Hist. (t. 2. p. 276. tr.) who imputes the doctrine to the Judæo-Christian theosophists. The Benedictine Ed. refers to a passage of Diogenes Laertius in Lips. Phys. Stoic. ii. 6. in corroboration of what Athan. says of the Stoics. Brucker dissents t. 1. p. 923. ed. 1767. Petavius ascribes similar (but orthodox) modes of expression to the Platonists, referring to Synesius's adoption of them, De Deo ii. 8. §. 17. Naz. refers to them with blame, as of a material character, apparently referring to Plato, Orat. 29, 2, b.

[c] ἡ μονὰς ἐπλατύνθη εἰς τριάδα· the very words of Marcellus as quoted by Eusebius, ἀποῤῥήτῳ λόγῳ ἡ μονὰς φαίνεται πλατυνομένη μὲν εἰς τριάδα. Eccl. Theol. p. 168, a, b. Yet πλατυσμὸς seems to have been a word of Sabellius, by Dionysius's allusion to it, οὕτω εἴς τι τὴν τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατύνομεν ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ κ. τ. λ. de Sent. Dion. 17 fin. This idea of πλατυσμὸς is admitted by other Fathers, as by Nazianzen, but of course to express the order of Divine Origination and Procession, not any actual and temporary process; "the Godhead being neither poured out beyond These," the Holy Trinity, "lest we introduce a multitude (δῆμον) of gods, nor limited short of Them, &c. Orat. 38, 8, a. vid. also 23, 8. and Basil. de Sp. S. 47. But such statements are open to no misconstruction. vid. supr. p. 399, note b.

Son and Spirit become the same, as Sabellius held[d]; ss the One which he speaks of is something besides the ıer, and then he ought not to speak of dilatation, since the was maker of Three, so that there was a One, and then ıer, Son, and Spirit. For if the One were dilated and ınded itself, it must itself be that which was dilated. a Three when dilated is no longer a One, and when ıe it is not yet a Three[e]. And therefore when Father, s not yet Son and Spirit; and when become These, no er only Father. And a man who thus should lie, might be a body to God, and represent Him as passible[1]; what is dilatation, but an affection[2] of that which is ed? or what the dilated, but what before was not so, was strait instead; for it is the same, in time only ring from itself.

SUBJ. VI.

[1] παθητόν

[2] πάθος

And this the divine Apostle knows, when he writes to the §. 14.
nthians, *Be ye not straitened in us, but be ye yourselves* 2 Cor. 6,
ed, O Corinthians; for he advises them, continuing the 12.
, to change from straitness to dilatation. And as, sup-ıg the Corinthians, being straitened, were in turn dilated, had not been others, but still Corinthians, so if the ıer was dilated into a Three, the Three again is the ıer alone. And he says again the same thing, *Our heart* 2 Cor. 6,
lated; and Noe says, *God shall dilate Japheth,* for the 11. Gen. 9,
heart and the same Japheth is in the dilatation. If then 27.
One dilated, others it dilated; but if it dilated itself, then ɔuld be that which was dilated; and what is that but the and Holy Spirit?

t is difficult to decide what Sa-'s doctrine really was; nor is wonderful, considering the per-y and vacillation which is the ıry consequence of abandoning ılic truth. Also we must distin-between him and his disciples. s considered by Eusebius, Eccl. . i. p. 91. Patripassian, i. e. as ıg that the Father was the Son; y Athan. Orat. iii. 36 init. supr. p. .2. de Sent. Dion. 5 and 9. By the ɔians of the Macrostich Creed ap. ı. de Syn. 26. supr. p. 115. By . Ep. 210, 5. Ruffin. in Symb. 5. ıgustine de Hær. 41. By Theodor. ii. 9. And apparently by Origen. t. t. 4. p. 695. And S. Cyprian. Ep. ı the other hand, Epiphanius seems to deny it, ap. August. l. c. and Alexander, by comparing it to the emanating doctrine of Valentinus, ap. Theod. Hist. i. 3. p. 743. Vid. p. 115, note f. and p. 505.

[e] vid. a passage similar to this, Orat. i. §. 17. supr. pp. 205, 6. where such a doctrine is urged as the strongest *reductio ad absurdum* against the Arians, being a *red. ad Sabellismum;* (a similar *red. ad abs.* is mentioned infr. p. 532, n. 3. in Orat. i. §. 38. supr. p. 234. vid. also supr. p. 526, note k.) It is there urged that the Holy Trinity becomes ἀνόμοιος ἑαυτῆς, the charge which Eusebius brings against Marcellus, ὁ θεὸς ἕνωσιν ἑαυτῷ ἀνόμοιος. p. 114, a. Athan. declares that the τριὰς is ὅμοια ἑαυτῇ. Serap. i. 17 init. 20, c. 28, c. and S. Cyril. in Catech. vi. 7.

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3. And it is well to ask him, when thus speaking, what was the action[1] of this dilatation? or, in very truth, wherefore at all it took place? for what does not remain the same, but is in course of time dilated, must necessarily have a cause of dilatation. If then it was in order that Word and Spirit should be with Him, it is beside the purpose to say, first "One;" and then "was dilated;" for Word and Spirit were not afterwards, but ever, or God would be word-less[2], as the Arians hold. So that if Word and Spirit were ever, ever was It dilated, and not at first but a One; but if it were dilated afterwards, then afterwards is the Word. But if for the incarnation It was dilated, and then became a Three, then before the incarnation there was not yet a Three. And it will seem even that the Father became flesh, if, that is, He be the One, and was dilated into man's nature[3]; and thus perhaps there will only be a One, and flesh, and thirdly Spirit[f]; if so be He was Himself dilated, and there will be in name only a Three. It is extravagant too to say that it was dilated for the sake of creating; for it were possible for the Divine Being, remaining a One, to make all; for the One did not need dilatation, nor was wanting in power before the dilatation; it is extravagant surely and impious, to think or speak thus in the case of God. Another extravagance too will follow. For if it was dilated for the sake of the creation, and while it was a One, the creation was not, but upon the end of all things, it will be again a One after dilatation, then the creation too will come to nought. For as for the sake of creating it was dilated, so, the dilatation ceasing, the creation will cease also.

[1] ἐνέργεια pp. 506, 7.

[2] p. 208, note b.

[3] τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

[f] This passage is like one in Eusebius contr. Marc. *τί τοίνυν ἦν τὸ κατιλθὸν τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ ἐκπυρώσεως; πάντως που, φησιν, πνεῦμα εἶ δὲ πνεῦμα, πνεῦμα ὁ θεός καθὼς ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ σωτῆρος περὶ τοῦ σαρκὸς λόγου. ἐλέγχεται Μάρκελλος αὐτὸν τὸν σαρκὶ ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι εἰπών.* pp. 35, 36.

Subject VII.

On the Identity of the Word with the Son against Photinians and Samosatenes.

§§. 15—24.

Since the Word is from God, He must be Son. Since the Son is from everlasting, He must be the Word; else either He is superior to the Word, or the Word is the Father. Texts of the New Testament which state the unity of the Son with the Father; therefore the Son is the Word. Three heretical hypotheses—1. That the Man is the Son; refuted. 2. That the Word and Man together are the Son; refuted. 3. That the Word became Son on His incarnation; refuted. Texts of the Old Testament which speak of the Son. If they are merely prophetical, then those concerning the Word may be such also.

1. SUCH extravagances will be the consequence of saying §. 15.
that the One is dilated into a Three. But since those who say so, dare to separate Word and Son, and to say that the Word is one and the Son another, and that first was the Word and then the Son, come let us consider this doctrine also[a]. Now their presumption takes various forms; for some say that the man whom the Saviour assumed, is the Son[1]; [1] vid. §. 20.
and others both that the man and the Word, then became Son, when they were united[2]. And others say that the Word [2] vid. §. 21.
Himself then became Son when He became man[3]; for [3] vid. §. 22 fin.
from being Word, they say, He became Son, not being Son before, but only Word.

2. Now both are Stoic doctrines, whether to say that God was dilated or to deny the Son[b]; but especially is it absurd

[a] The Valentinians, in their system of Eons, had already divided the Son from the Word; but they considered the μονογενὴς first, the λόγος next.

[b] Perhaps by saying that the Stoics denied the Son, he means to allude to their doctrine, that their λόγος or God was one of the two Ingenerate Principles, matter being the other. Laertius first distinguishes between ἀρχαὶ and στοιχεῖα, saying that the former are ἀγένητοι καὶ ἄφθαρτοι; and then lays down that the ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὅλων are two, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον, then τὸ μὲν πάσχον τὴν ὕλην εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν. vid. Lips. Physiol. Stoic. i. 4.

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to name the Word, yet deny Him to be Son. For if the Word be not from God, reasonably might they deny Him to be Son; but if He is from God, how see they not that what exists from any thing is son of him from whom it is[c]? Next, if God is Father of the Word, why is not the Word Son of His own Father? for he is and is called father, whose is the son; and he is and is called son of another, whose is the father. If then God is not Father of Christ, neither is the Word Son; but if God be Father, then reasonably also the Word is Son.

3. But if afterwards there is Father, and first God, this is an Arian[1] thought[2]. Next, it is extravagant that God should change; for that belongs to bodies; but if He became Father, as in the instance of creation He became afterwards a Maker, let them know that the change is in the things[3] which afterwards came to be, and not in God. If then the Son too were a work, well might God begin to be a Father towards Him as others; but if the Son is not a work, then ever was the Father and ever the Son[4]. But if the Son was ever, He must be the Word[d]; for if the Word be not Son, and this be what a man is bold enough to say, either he holds that Word to be Father[e] or the Son superior to the Word. For the Son being *in the bosom of the Father*, of necessity either the Word is not before the Son, (for nothing is before Him who is in the Father,) or if the Word be other than the Son, the Word must be the Father in whom is the Son. But if the Word is not Father but Word, the Word must be external to the Father, since it is the Son who is *in the bosom of the Father*. For not both the Word and the Son are in the bosom, but one must be, and He the Son, who is Only-begotten. And it follows for another reason, if the Word is one, and the

[1] p. 529, note e.
[2] p. 523, note d.
[3] vid. supr. p. 223. §. 16.
[4] p. 201, note b.
John 1, 18.

[c] In consequence it is a very difficult question in theology, why the Holy Spirit is not called a "Son," and His procession "generation." This was an objection of the Arians, vid. ad Serap. i. 15—17. and Athan. only answers it by denying that we may speculate. Other writers apply, as in other cases, the theological language of the Church to a solution of this question. It is carefully discussed in Petav. Dogm. t. 2. vii. 13, 14. vid. p. 121, note s.

[d] i. e. He must be the Word, who confessedly is from everlasting. The object of this section and the next is to shew that "Son" is not a lower title than Word, (which certain heretics said,) and therefore that they are both titles of One and the Same.

[e] This is what Nestorius says of Photinus; dicit Verbum istum aliquando quidem Patris nomine vocitari, aliquando autem Verbi nomine, &c. ap. Mar. Merc. t. 2. p. 87.

Son another, that the Son is superior to the Word; for *no one knoweth the Father save the Son*[f], not the Word. Either then the Word does not know, or if He knows, it is not true[1] that *no one knows.* SUBJ. VII. Matt. 11, 27. [1] ψεῦδος.

4. And the same of *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father*, and *I and the Father are One*, for this the Son says, and not the Word, as they would have it, as is plain from the Gospel; for according to John when the Lord said, *I and the Father are One*, the Jews took up stones to stone Him. *Jesus*[g] *answered them, Many good works have I shewed you from My Father, for which of those works do ye stone Me? The Jews answered Him, saying, For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God. Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the Word of God came, and the Scriptures cannot be broken, say ye of Him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father.* And yet, as far as the surface of the words intimated, He said neither "I am God," nor "I am Son of God," but *I and the Father are One.* The Jews then, when they heard *One*, thought like Sabellius that He said that He was the Father, but our Saviour shews their sin by this argument; "Though I said *God*, you should have remembered what is written, *I said, Ye are gods*[h]." Then to clear up *I and the Father are One*, He has explained the Son's oneness with the Father in the words, *Because I said, I am the Son of God.* For if He did not say it in the letter[2], still He has explained as to the sense *are One* of the Son. For nothing is one with the Father, but what is from Him. What is That which is from Him but the Son? And therefore He adds, *that ye may know* John 10, 32—38. §. 17. [2] τῇ λέξει.

[f] Eusebius says that Marcellus, as it were, corrected this text, while he quoted it; "as if correcting the Saviour's words, instead of 'Son,' he names again 'Word,' thus saying, 'No one knoweth the Father save the Son, that is, the Word.'" pp. 77, 78.

[g] This passage is urged against Marcellus in the same way by Eusebius, p. 87.

[h] vid. Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 17.

Disc. IV. *that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me.* For, when expounding the *One*, He said that the union and the inseparability lay, not in This being That, with which It was One, but in His being in the Father and the Father in the Son. For thus He overthrows both Sabellius, in saying, not, *I am* "the Father," but, *the Son of God;* and Arius, in saying, *are One.*

5. If then the Son and the Word are not the same, it is not that the Word is one with the Father, but the Son; nor whoso hath seen the Word *hath seen the Father*, but *he that hath seen* the Son. And from this it follows, either that the Son is greater than the Word, or the Word has nothing beyond the Son. For what can be greater or more perfect than *One*, and *I in the Father and the Father in Me*, and *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father?* for all this is said by the Son. And hence the same John says, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen Him that sent Me*, and *He that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me;* and, *I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth in Me, should not abide in darkness. And, if any one hear My words and observe them not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. The word*[1] *which he shall hear, the same shall judge him in the last day, because I go unto the Father.* The preaching[1], He says, shall judge him who has not observed the commandment; "for if," He says, "I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they shall have no cloke, He says, having heard My words, through which those who observe them shall reap salvation."

John 12, 45. al. text. rec. Mat. 10, 40. John 12, 46—48. al. t. r. [1] ὁ λόγος, i. e. τὸ κήρυγμα

§. 18. 6. Perhaps they will have so little shame as to say, that this is spoken not by the Son but by the Word; but from what preceded it appeared plainly that the Speaker was the Son. For He who here says, *I came not to judge the world but to save*, is shewn to be no other than the Only-begotten Son of God, by the same John's saying before[1], *For God so loved the world that He gave His Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son into the world*

John 12, 47. Ib. 3, 16—19.

[1] These same texts are quoted to prove the same doctrine, the pre-existence, &c. of the Son, by Eusebius against Marcellus. p. 86.

to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the Only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. If He who says, *For I came not to judge the world, but that I might save it*, is the Same as says, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me*, and if He who came to save the world and not judge it is the Only-begotten Son of God, it is plain that it is the same Son who says, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me.* For He who said, *He that believeth on Me*, and, *If any one hear My words, I judge him not*, is the Son Himself, of whom Scripture says, *He that believeth on Him is not condemned, but He that believeth not is condemned already, because He hath not believed in the Name of the Only-begotten Son of God.*

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John 12, 45. vv. 44, 47. 3, 18, 19.

7. And again[k]: *And this is the condemnation* of him who believeth not on the Son, *that light hath come into the world*, and they believed not in Him, that is, in the Son; for He must be *the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* And as long as He was upon earth according to the incarnation, He was Light in the world, as He said Himself, *While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light*; for *I*, says He, *am come a light into the world.* This then being shewn, it follows §. 19. that the Word is the Son. But if the Son is the Light, which has come into the world, beyond all dispute the world was made by the Son. For in the beginning of the Gospel, the Evangelist, speaking of John the Baptist, says, *He was not that Light, but that he might bear witness concerning that Light.* For Christ Himself was, as we have said before, the True Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world[l].

1, 9. 12, 36, 46. 1, 8.

8. For if *He was in the world, and the world was made by Him*, of necessity He is the Word of God, concerning whom also the Evangelist witnesses that all things were made

John 1, 10.

[k] vid. in like manner Eusebius contr. Marcell. pp. 83, 87, 117.

[l] vid. also Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 142, c.

Disc. IV. by Him. For either they will be compelled to speak of two worlds, that the one may have come into being by the Son and the other by the Word, or, if the world is one and the creation one, it follows that Son and Word are one and the same before all creation, for by Him it came into being. Therefore if as by the Word, so by the Son also all things came to be, it will not be contradictory, but even identical to say, for instance, *In the beginning was the Word*, or, *In the beginning was the Son*[m]. But if because John did not say, "In the beginning was the Son," they shall maintain that the attributes of the Word do not suit with the Son, it at once[1] follows that the attributes of the Son do not suit with the Word. But to the Son belongs, as was shewn, *I and the Father are One*, and, *Which is in the bosom of the Father*, and, *He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me;* and that "the world was brought into being by Him," is common to the Word and the Son; so that from this the Son is shewn to be before the world; for of necessity the Framer is before the things He brings into being.

[1] Ἀρε, p. 524, r. 5.

John 10, 30. 1, 18. 12, 45.

9. And what is said to Philip must belong, not to the Word, as they would have it[n], but to the Son. For, *Jesus said*, says Scripture, *Have I been so long time with you, and yet thou hast not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father. And how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not, that I am in the Father and the Father in Me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of Myself, but the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works. Believe Me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me, or else, believe Me for the very works' sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.* Therefore if the Father be glorified in the Son, the Son must

John 14, 9—13.

[m] A similar passage is found in Euseb. contr. Marc. p. 122, d.

[n] This is what Marcellus argues, as quoted by Eusebius, p. 39, a, b. After saying that "I and My Father are One" are spoken, not of Him who was seen, but of the Word, he continues, κἀκεῖνο, τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ, Φίλιππε, καὶ λέγεις δεῖξον μοι τὸν πατέρα, οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀόρατος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ τούτου λόγος.

be He who said, *I in the Father and the Father in Me;* and He who said, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father;* for He, the same who thus spoke, shews Himself to be the Son, by adding, *that the Father may be glorified in the Son.* SUBJ. VII.

10. If then they say that the Man whom the Word bore, §. 20. and not the Word, is the Son of God the Only-begotten[r], the Man must be by consequence He who is in the Father, in whom also the Father is; and the Man must be He who is One with the Father, and who is in the bosom of the Father, and the True Light. And they will be compelled to say that through the Man Himself the world came into being, and that the Man was He who came not to judge the world but to save it; and that He it was who was in being before Abraham came to be. For, says Scripture, Jesus said to them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am.* And is it not extravagant to say, as they do, that one who came of the seed of Abraham after two and forty generations[1], should exist before Abraham came to be? is it not extravagant, if the flesh, which the Word bore, itself is the Son, to say that the flesh from Mary is that by which the world was made? and how will they retain *He was in the world?* for the Evangelist, by way of signifying the Son's antecedence to the birth according to the flesh, goes on to say, *He was in the world.* And how, if not the Word but the Man is the Son, can He save the world, being Himself one of the world? And if this does not shame them, where shall be the Word, the Man being in the Father? And what will the Word be to the Father, the Man and the Father being One? But if the Man be Only-begotten, what will be the place of the Word? Either one must say that He comes second, or, if He be above the Only-begotten, He must be the Father Himself. For as the Father is One, so also the Only-begotten from Him is One; and what has the Word above the Man, if the Word is not the Son? For, while Scripture says that through the Son and the Word the world was

John 8, 58.

[1] vid. Matt. 1.

[r] This is the first of the three hypotheses noted above, p. 531. This form of Sabellianism closely approximates to what was afterwards Nestorianism. As to Marcellus, it is a question whether he admitted any "Son of God," except as a *title* of the Word manifested in the flesh. vid. Euseb. pp. 81, 82. the human being whom He assumed being in his creed "the Son of man," not of God. vid. ibid. pp. 42, a. 77, c. 87, b.

Disc. IV. brought to be, and it is common to the Word and to the Son to frame the world, yet as to the sight[s] of the Father Scripture proceeds to place it, not in the Word but the Son, and the saving of the world, to attribute it not to the Word, but to the Only-begotten Son. For, saith it, Jesus said, *Have I been so long while with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father.* Nor does Scripture say that the Word knows the Father, but the Son; and that not the Word sees the Father, but the Only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father.

§. 21. 11. And what more does the Word for our salvation than the Son, if, as they hold, the Son is one, and the Word another? for the command is that we should believe, not in the Word, but in the Son. For John says, *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life.* And Holy Baptism, in which the substance of the whole faith is lodged, is administered not in the Word, but in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If then, as they hold, the Word is one and the Son another, and the Word is not the Son, Baptism has no connection with the Word. How then are they able to hold that the Word is with the Father, when He is not with Him in the grant of Baptism? But perhaps they will say, that in the Father's Name the Word is included? Wherefore then not the Spirit also? or is the Spirit external to the Father? and the Man indeed, (if the Word is not Son,) is named after the Father, but the Spirit after the Man? and, instead of being content with the One dilating into a Three, they dilate into a Four, Father, Word, Son, and Holy Ghost.

John 3, 36.

12. Being brought to shame on this ground, they have recourse to another, and say that not the Man by Himself whom the Lord bore, but both together, the Word and the Man, are the Son; for both joined together are named Son, as they say. Which then is cause of which? and which has made which a Son? or, to speak more clearly, is the Word a Son because of the flesh? or is the flesh called Son because of the Word? or is neither the cause, but the concurrence of

[s] τὸ δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸν πατέρα. The Latin version, which is often faulty, renders, Patrem non a Verbo sed à Filio videri; but Athan. seems to mean *our* seeing the Father in the Word. Yet there is a repetition just afterwards of ἰδεῖν τὸν πατέρα in the former sense.

the two? If then the Word be a Son because of the flesh, of necessity the flesh is Son, and all those extravagances follow which have been already drawn from saying that the Man is Son. But if the flesh is called Son because of the Word, then even before the flesh the Word certainly, being such, was Son. For how could a being make other sons, not being himself a son, especially[t] when there was a father[1]? If then He makes sons for Himself, then is He Himself Father; but if for the Father, then must He be Son, or rather that Son, for whose sake the rest are made sons. For if, while He is not Son, we are sons, God is our Father and not His. How then does He appropriate the name instead, saying, *My Father*, and, *I from the Father?* for if He be common Father of all, He is not His Father only, nor did He only come out from the Father. Now He says, that God is sometimes called our Father, because He has Himself become partaker in our flesh. For on this account the Word became flesh, that, since the Word is Son, therefore, because of the Son dwelling in us[2], God may be called our Father also; for *He hath sent forth*, says Scripture, *the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.* Therefore the Son in us, calling upon His own Father, causes Him to be named our Father also. Surely in whose hearts the Son is not, of them neither can God be called Father. But if because of the Word the Man is called Son, it follows necessarily, since the ancients[3] are called sons even before the Incarnation, that the Word is Son even before His sojourn among us; for *I have begotten sons*, saith Scripture; and in the time of Noe, *When the sons of God saw*, and in the Song, *Is not He thy Father?* Therefore there was also that True Son, for whose sake they too were sons. But if, as they say again, neither of the two is Son, but it depends on the concurrence of the two, it follows that neither is Son; I say, neither the Word nor the Man, but some cause, on account of which they were united; and accordingly that cause which makes the Son will precede

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[1] p. 416, note e.

§. 22.

John 5, 17; 16, 28.

[2] p. 366, note c.

Gal. 4, 6.

[3] p. 548, r. 3.

Is. 1, 2. Sept. Gen. 6, 2. Deut. 32, 6.

[t] ὅτου μάλιστα πατρός. This is hardly the sense of μάλιστα which in this position is common; vid. supr. p. 52, note c. Also εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. de Syn. 29, a. ὅταν μάλ. Apol. ad Const. 25 init. ἐὰν μάλ. Orat. ii. 7, a. ἵνα μάλ. Orat. ii. 10, c. εἴτε μάλ. Orat. iii. 32, b. μιγάλως μάλ Orat. iii. 42 init. ἀκούοντες μάλ. ad Ep. Æg. 20 fin.

Disc. IV. the uniting. Therefore in this way also the Son was before the flesh.

13. When this then is urged, they will take refuge in another pretext, saying, neither that the Man is Son, nor both together, but that the Word was Word indeed simply in the beginning, but when He became Man, then He was named[1] Son; for before His appearing He was not Son but Word only; and as the *Word became flesh*, not being flesh before, so the Word became Son, not being Son before[x]. Such are their idle words; but they admit of an obvious refutation. For if simply, when made Man, He became Son, the becoming Man is the cause. And if the Man is cause of His being Son, or both together, then the same extravagances result. Next, if He is first Word and then Son, it will appear that He knew the Father afterwards, not before; for not as being Word[2] does He know Him, but as Son. For *No one knoweth the Father but the Son.* And this too will result, that He became afterwards *in the bosom of the Father*, and afterwards He and the Father became One; and afterwards is, *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father.* For all these things are said of the Son. Hence they will be forced to say, The Word was nothing but a name[y]. For neither is it He who is in us with the Father, nor whoso has seen the Word, hath seen the Father, nor was the Father known to any one at all, for through the Son is the Father known, (for so it is written, *And he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him,*) and, the Word not being yet Son, not yet did any know the Father. How then was He seen by Moses, how by the fathers? for He says Himself in the book of Kings, *Was I not plainly revealed to the house of thy father?* But if God was revealed, there must have been a Son to reveal, as He says Himself, *And he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.*

[1] p. 307, note d.

§. 23.

[2] ὁ λόγος

Matt. 11, 27.

John 1, 18.

14, 9.

1Sam.2, 27.Sept.

14. It is irreligious then and foolish to say that the Word is one and the Son another, and whence they gained such an

[x] Marcellus seems to express this view in various passages in Eusebius, who reports him as holding μήτε εἶναι μήτε προϋφεστᾶναι μήτε ὅλως πώποτε υἱὸν ὑπάρξαι τῷ θεῷ πρὸ τοῦ τεχθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον εἶναι λόγον, συμφυᾶ τῷ θεῷ, ἀϊδίως αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ ἡνωμένον. p. 32.

[y] This is a retort upon Marcellus, who held that "the Son" was a name or appellation of the Word.

idea it were well to ask them. They answer, Because no mention is made in the Old Testament of the Son, but of the Word[z]; and for this reason they are positive in their opinion that the Son came later than the Word, because not in the Old, but in the New Testament only, is He spoken of. This is what they irreligiously say; for first to separate between the Testaments, so that the one does not hold with the other, is the device of Manichees and Jews, the one of whom oppose the Old, and the other the New[1]. Next, on their shewing, if what is contained in the Old Testament is of older date, and what in the New of later, and times depend upon the writing, it follows that *I and the Father are One*, and *Only-begotten*, and *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father*, are later, for these testimonies are adduced not from the Old but from the New. But it is not so; for in truth much is said in the Old Testament also about the Son, as in the second Psalm, *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee;* and in the ninth the title, Unto the *end concerning the hidden things of the Son, a Psalm of David;* and in the forty-fourth, *Unto the end, concerning the things that shall be changed to the Sons of Core for understanding, a song about the Well-beloved*[a]; and in Esaias, *I will sing to My Well-beloved a song of My Well-boloved touching My vineyard. My Well-beloved hath a vineyard;* Who is this *Well-beloved*[2] but the Only-begotten Son? as also in the hundred and ninth, *From the womb I have begotten Thee before the morning star*, concerning which I shall speak afterwards; and in the Proverbs, *Before the hills He begat Me;* and in Daniel, *And the form of the Fourth is like the Son of God;* and many others. If then from the Old be ancientness, ancient must be the Son, who is clearly described in the Old Testament in many places.

SUBJ. VII.

[1] p. 258, note a. p. 450, r. 6.

John 10, 30; 1, 18; 14, 9.

§. 24.

Ps. 2, 7; Ps. 9, title Sept. 45, title. not Sept.

Is. 5, 1.

[2] ἀγαπητός

Ps. 110, 3. Sept.

Prov. 8, 25. Sept. Dan. 3, 25.

15. "Yes," they say, "so it is, but it must be taken prophetically[b]." Therefore also the Word must be said to be

[z] This seems to have been an objection of Marcellus, which Eusebius answers, p. 93, a. p. 96, d. and accounts for the fact, if granted, p. 135.

[a] vid. also Euseb. Eccl. Theol. p. 99, a.

[b] And so Eusebius of Marcellus, and Epiphanius of Photinus, as quoted supr. p. 510, (11.) An earlier heretic, (Beryllus, who afterwards recanted) is referred to by Origen (according to De la Rue, ad Origenian. i. 3. §. 8.) as holding hominem Dominum Jesum præcognitum et prædestinatum, qui ante adventum carnalem substantialiter et proprie non exstiterit. t. 4. p. 695. Paul of Samosata said the same. vid. supr. p. 114, note c. Athan. contr. Apoll. ii. 3.

Disc. IV. uttered prophetically; for this is not to be taken one way, that another. For if *Thou art My Son* refer to the future, so Ps.33,6. does *By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established;* for it is not said "brought to be," nor "He made." And because *established* refers to the future, it is said elsewhere, 93, 1. *The Lord is King*, then, *He hath so established the earth that it can never be moved.* And if the words in the forty-fourth Psalm *for My Well-beloved* refer to the future, so does what Ps.45,1. Sept. follows upon them, *My heart burst with a good Word.* And if *From the womb* relates to a man, therefore also *From the heart.* For if the womb is human, so is the heart corporeal. But if what is from the heart is eternal, then what is *From the womb* is eternal. And if the *Only-begotten* is *in the bosom*, therefore the *Well-beloved* is *in the bosom.* For *Only-begotten* and *Well-beloved* are the same, as in the Matt. 3, 17. words *This is My Well-beloved Son.* For not as wishing to signify His love towards Him did He say *Well-beloved*, as if it might appear that He hated others, but He made plain thereby His being Only-begotten, that He might shew that He alone was from Him[c]. And hence the Word, with a view of conveying to Abraham the idea of *Only-begotten*, says, Gen. 22, 2. *Offer thy son thy well-beloved;* and it is plain to any one that Isaac was the only son from Sara[d].

16. The Word then is Son, not lately brought to be, or named Son[1], but always Son. For if not Son, neither is He Word; and if not Word, neither is He Son. For that which is from the father is a son; and what is from the Father, but that Word that went forth from the heart, and was born from the womb? for the Father is not Word, nor the Word Father[e]; but the one is Father, and the other Son; and one begets, and the other is begotten.

[1] ὀνομασθείς, vid. p. 505,3.

[c] ἀγαπητὸς is explained by μονογενὴς by Hesychius, Suidas, and Pollux; it is the version in the Sept. equally with μονογενὴς of the Hebrew יְחִיד. Homer calls Astyanax Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν; vid. also the instance of Telemachus, infr. p. 549; Plutarch notices this; Ὅμηρος ἀγαπητὸν ὀνομάζει μοῦνον τηλύγετον, τουτέστι μὴ ἔχουσι ἕτερον γονεῖσι, μήτε ἔξουσι γιγνομένων, as quoted by Wetstein in Matth. iii. 17. Vid. also Suicer in voc.

[d] The subject of Old Testament evidence in favour of the title "Son," is continued in §§. 27, 28.

[e] This doctrine Nestorius considered as the characteristic of Photinus. supr. p. 506 init. Sabellius υἱοπάτορα dicit, Photinus λογοπάτορα.

Subject VIII.

(*Being Subject* 4. *continued.*)

§. 25.

Heretical illustration from 1 Cor. 12, 4. refuted.

1. If then Arius raves in saying that the Son is from nothing, and that once He was not, Sabellius raves[1] also in saying that the Father is Son, and again, the Son Father[2], in subsistence[3] One, in name Two; and he raves also[a] in using as an example the grace of the Spirit. For he says, "As there are *diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit,* so also the Father is the same, but is dilated into Son and Spirit." Now this is utterly extravagant; for if as with the Spirit, so it is with God, the Father will be Word and Holy Spirit, to one becoming Father, to another Son, to another Spirit, accommodating himself to the need of each, and in name indeed Son and Spirit, but in reality Father only; having a beginning[4] in that He becomes a Son, and then ceasing to be called Father, and made man in name, but in truth not even coming among us; and untrue[5] in saying *I and the Father,* but in reality being Himself the Father, and the other extravagances which result in the instance of Sabellius. And the name of the Son and the Spirit will necessarily cease, when the need has been supplied; and what happens will altogether be but make-belief, because they have been displayed, not in truth, but in name. And the Name of Son ceasing, as they

§. 25.

[1] ἡ Σαβελλίου μανία, Sent. Dion. 26, c. 1 Cor. 12, 4.

[2] p. 529, note d.

[3] ὑποστάσει, p. 494, note t.

[4] ἀρχὴν, p. 501.

[5] ψευδόμενος

[a] Neander, Church Hist. vol. 2. p. 277. understands this μαίνεται δὲ καὶ χεόμενος of Sabellius. But the repetition of μαίνεται is somewhat against the supposition, and the ἴσα ἄλλα ἐπὶ Σαβελλίου which presently follows. So too is the καθ' αὑτοὺς which occurs lower down the section. And the πρὸς Ἕλληνα ὁ λόγος and the annihilation of creation at its close, which have above been ascribed to Marcellus. p. 507, (8.) And the πλατύνεται εἰς υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα which follows at once, and is the very phrase of Marcellus. supr. p. 506. Athanasius then does but say that the illustration from the gifts of the Spirit is a *running into* Sabellianism. As to the want of a nominative to shew whom he is speaking of, it may be urged rather in proof of the abrupt and defective character of the composition of the Oration.

Disc. IV. hold, then the grace of Baptism will cease too; for it was given in the Son[1]. Nay, what will follow but the annihilation of the creation? for if the Word came forth that we might be created[2], and when He was come forth, we were, it is plain that when He retires into the Father, as they say, we shall be no longer. For He will be as He was; so also we shall not be, as then we were not; for when He is no more gone forth, there will no more be a creation. Extravagant then is this.

[1] p. 538.

[2] p. 316, note c. p. 525, note b.

§. 26.

Subject IX.

(*Being Subject 7. continued.*)

That the Son is the Co-existing Word, argued from the New Testament. Texts from the Old Testament continued; especially Ps. 110, 3. Besides, the Word in Old Testament may be Son in New, as Spirit in Old Testament is Paraclete in it. Objection from Acts 10, 36. urged by the Samosatenes; answered by parallels, such as 1 Cor. 1, 5. Lev. 9, 7. &c. Necessity of the Word's taking flesh, viz. to sanctify, yet without destroying, the flesh.

1. BUT that the Son has no beginning[a] of being, but before He was made man, was ever with the Father, John makes clear in his first Epistle, writing thus: *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life; and the Life was manifested, and we have seen it; and we bear witness and declare unto you that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us.* While he says here that *the Life*, not "became," but *was with the Father*, in the end of his Epistle he says the Son is this Life, writing, *And we are in Him that is True, even in His Son, Jesus Christ; this is the True God and Eternal Life.* But if the Son is the Life, and the Life was with the Father, and if the Son was with the Father, and the same Evangelist says, *And the Word was with God*, the Son must be the Word, which is ever with the Father. And as the *Son* is *Word*, so *God* must be *the Father*. Moreover, the Son, according to John, is not merely "God" but *Very God;* for according to the same Evangelist, *And the Word was God;* and the Son said, *I am the Life.* Therefore the Son is the Word and Life which is with the Father.

1 John 1, 1. 2.

1 John 5, 20.

John 1, 1.

John 14, 6.

2. And again, what is said in the same John, *The Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father*, shews that

John 1, 18.

[a] Here ἀρχὴ is used in the same sense as in the foregoing section, and seems to connect it with the present, as the foregoing was connected with the passage before it by the mention of Baptism. This is one out of several instances which shew that the book, incomplete and ill-digested as it is, is no chance collection of fragments. Thus too the mention of the Stoic doctrine in §. 15. connects it with §. 14. And the unusual word ὑπόστασις, which occurs twice towards the end of this concluding portion of the book, is found in the foregoing section, init. though on a different subject. The connection of §. 12. and §. 13. by the words εἰς ἄνεσιν, ἀνέσεως has been noticed in loc.

Disc. IV. the Son was ever. For whom John calls Son, Him David mentions in the Psalm as God's Hand[1], saying, *Why stretchest not forth Thy Right Hand out of Thy bosom?* Therefore if the Hand is in the bosom, and the Son in the bosom, the Son will be the Hand, and the Hand will be the Son, through whom the Father made all things; for it is written, *Thy Hand hath made all these things*, and *He led out His people with His Hand;* therefore through the Son. And if *this is the changing of the Right Hand of the Most Highest*, and again, *Unto the end, concerning the things that shall be changed, a song for My Well-beloved;* the Well-beloved then is the Hand that has been changed; concerning whom the Divine Voice also says, *This is My Beloved Son.* "This *My Hand*" then is equivalent to *This My Son.*

[1] p. 323, note a. Ps. 74, 12. Sept. vid. Is. 66, 2. Deut. 7, 8. Ps. 77, 11. Sept. Ps. 45. title.

§. 27. 3. But since there are ill-instructed men who, while resisting the doctrine of a Son, think little of the words, *From the womb before the morning star I begat Thee;* as if this referred to His relation to Mary, alleging that He was born of Mary *before the morning star*[b], for that to say *womb* could not refer to His relation towards God, we must say a few words here. If then, because the *womb* is human, therefore it is foreign to God, plainly *heart* too has a human meaning[2]; for that which has heart has womb also. Since then both are human, we must deny both, or seek to explain both. Now as a word is from the heart, so is an offspring from the womb; and as when the heart of God is spoken of, we do not conceive of it as human, so if Scripture says *from the womb*, we must not take it in a corporeal sense. For it is usual with divine Scripture[3], to speak and signify in the way of man what is above man. Thus speaking of the creation it says, *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me*, and, *Thy hand hath made all these things*, and, *He commanded and they were created.* Suitable then is its language about every thing; attributing to the Son "propriety" and "genuineness," and to the creation "the beginning of being." For some things God makes and creates; but Him

Ps. 110, 3. Sept.

[2] p. 542.

[3] ἴδιος τῆ γε. vid. p. 551, r. 6. Ps. 119, 73. 148, 5.

[b] The parties opposed by Athan. understand the morning star literally, our Lord being born at midnight, νυκτός. infr. §. 28. and so Tertullian contr. Marc. v. 9. However, Marcellus considers "the morning star" to be the Star seen by the Magi, ὁ φέρων τι καὶ δηλῶν ἡμέραν τοῖς Μάγοις. Euseb. p. 48, b.

He begets from Himself, as Word and Wisdom. Now *womb* and *heart* plainly declare the proper and the genuine; for we too draw this from the womb; but works we make by the hand. SUBJ. IX.

4. What means then, say they, *Before the morning star?* I would answer, that if *Before the morning star* shews that His birth from Mary was wonderful, many others besides have been born before the rising of the star. What then is said so wonderful in His instance, that He should record it as some choice prerogative[1], when it is common to many? Next to beget differs from bringing forth; for begetting involves the primary foundation[2], but to bring forth is nothing else than the production of what exists. If then the term belongs to the body, let it be observed that He did not then receive a beginning of generation[3] when He was evangelized to the shepherds by night, but when the Angel spoke to the Virgin. And that was not night, for this is not said; on the contrary, it was night when He issued from the womb. This difference Scripture makes, and says on the one hand that He was begotten before the morning star, and on the other speaks of His proceeding from the womb, as in the twenty-first Psalm, *Thou hast drawn Me from the womb.* Besides, He has not said "before the rising of the morning star," but simply *before the morning star.* If then the phrase must be taken of the body, then either the body must be before Adam, for the stars were before Adam, or we have to investigate the sense of the letter. And this John enables us to do, who says in the Apocalypse, *I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are they who make broad*[c] *their robes, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie. I Jesus have sent My Angel, to testify these things in the Churches. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, the Bright and Morning Star. And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come; and let him that heareth say, Come;* §. 28.

[1] ἐξαιρέτου, p. 308, note f.

[2] ἀρχὴν καταβολῆς

[3] ἀρχὴν γενέσεως

Ps. 22, 9.

Rev. 22, 13-17.

[c] πλατύνοντες, which seems intended for πλύνοντες as ἔπλυναν, vii. 14. and as in the Vulgate here. Most of the Greek Mss, some Versions, and some Fathers, read ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, with the present rec. text. vid. Wolf. Car. Phil. in loc.

Disc. IV. *and let him that is athirst, Come; and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.* If then *the Offspring of David* be the *Bright and Morning Star*, it is plain that the [1] τὸ κατὰ σάρκα flesh[1] of the Saviour is called *the Morning Star*, which the Offspring from God preceded; so that the sense of the Psalm is this, "I have begotten Thee from Myself before Thy appearance[2] in the flesh;" for *before the Morning Star* is equivalent to "before the incarnation of the Word."

[2] ἐπιφανείας, epiphany.

§. 29. 5. Thus in the Old Testament also, statements are plainly made concerning the Son; at the same time it is superfluous to argue the point; for if what is not stated in the Old, is of later date, let them who are thus disputatious, say where in the Old Testament is mention made of the Spirit the Paraclete? for of the Holy Spirit there is mention, but no where of the Paraclete. Is then the Holy Spirit one, and the Paraclete another, and the Paraclete the later, as not mentioned in the Old[d]? but perish the word that the Spirit is later, and the distinction of the Holy Ghost as one and the Paraclete as another; for the Spirit is one and the same, then and now hallowing and comforting them who are His recipients; as one and the same Word and Son led even then to adoption of sons those who were worthy[3]. For sons under the Old Covenant were made such through no other than the Son. For unless even before Mary there were a Son who was of God, how is He before all, when they are sons before Him? and how also *First-born*, if He comes second after many? But neither is the Paraclete second, for He was before all, nor the Son later; for *in the beginning was the Word.* And as the Spirit and Paraclete are the same, so the Son and Word are the same; and as the Saviour says concerning the Spirit, *But the Paraclete which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in My Name*, speaking of One and Same, and not distinguishing, so John describes similarly when he says, *And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the*

[3] p. 236, note c.

John 1, 1.

14, 26.

1, 14.

[d] A heresy of this kind is actually noticed by Origen, viz. of those qui Spiritum Sanctum alium quidem dicant esse qui fuit in Prophetis, alium autem qui fuit in Apostolis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. In Tit. t. 4. p. 695. Hence in the Creed "who spake by the prophets;" and hence the frequent epithet given by S. Justin to the Holy Spirit of προφητικόν; e. g. when speaking of baptism. Apol. i. 61 fin. Also Ap. i. 6. 13. Tryph. 49. On the other hand, he calls the Spirit of the Prophet "the Holy Spirit," e. g. Tryph. 54, 61.

glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father. For here too he does not distinguish but witnesses the identity. And as[1] the Paraclete is not one and the Holy Ghost another, but one and the same, so Word is not one, and Son another, but the Word is Only-Begotten; for He says not the glory of the flesh itself, but of the Word. He then who dares distinguish between Word and Son, let him distinguish between Spirit and Paraclete; but if the Spirit cannot be distinguished, so neither can the Word, being also Son and Wisdom and Power. SUBJ. IX. [1] οὐχ ὡς

6. Moreover, the word "Well-beloved" even the Greeks who are skilful in grammar know to be equivalent with "Only-begotten." For Homer speaks thus of Telemachus, who was the only-begotten of Ulysses, in the second book of the Odyssey:

> O'er the wide earth, dear youth, why seek to run,
> An only child, a well-beloved son[2]?
> He whom you mourn, divine Ulysses, fell,
> Far from his country, where the strangers dwell.

[2] μοῦνος ἰὼν ἀγαπητός.

Therefore he who is the only son of his father is called well-beloved.

7. Some of the Samosatene school[e], distinguishing the Word from the Son, pretend that the Son is Christ, and the Word another; and they ground this upon Peter's words in the Acts, which he spoke with a suitable sense, but they explain badly[3]. It is this: *The Word He sent to the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ; this is Lord of all*[f]. For they say that since the Word spoke through Christ, §. 30.

[3] p. 283, note c. Acts 10, 36.

[e] For Paul's opinions vid. supr. pp. 174,175. To the passages there brought, distinguishing between him and Nestorius, may be added the express words of the latter, Serm. 12. t. 2. p. 87. Mar. Mer. Assemani takes the same view, Bibl. Orient. t. 4. p. 68, 9.

[f] Τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀπέστειλε .. οὗτός ἐστι .. ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα. The Samosatenes interpreted this difficult construction as Hippolytus before them, as if τὸν λόγον were either governed by κατὰ or attracted by ὃν, οὗτος agreeing with ὁ λόγος understood. Dr. Routh in loc. Hipp. who at one time so construed it, refers to 1 Pet. 2, 7. John 3, 34. as parallel, also Matt. 21, 42. And so Urbem quam statuo, &c. vid. Raphel. in Luc. 21, 6. vid. also τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν John 8, 25. with J. C. Wolf's remarks, who would understand by ἀρχὴν omnino, which Lennep however in Phalar. Ep. says it can only mean with a negative. Our translation understands λόγος and ῥῆμα as synonymous, (which is harsh,) and the latter as used merely to connect the sentence; and οὗτος as if for ὅς. Moreover, if λόγος be taken for ῥῆμα, τὸν λόγον ἀπέστειλε is a harsh phrase; however, it occurs Acts 13, 26. If λόγος on the other hand have a theological sense, a *primâ facie* countenance is given to the distinction between "the Word" and "Jesus Christ," which the Samosatenes wished to deduce from the passage. However, Athan. answers this inference in the passage which follows.

Disc. IV.

as in the instance of the Prophets, *Thus saith the Lord*, the prophet was one and the Lord another[g]. But to this it is parallel to oppose the words in the first to the Corinthians, *waiting for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the end unblameable in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.* For as one Christ does not confirm the day of another Christ, but He Himself confirms in His own day those who wait for Him, so the Father sent the Word made flesh, that being made man He might preach by means of Himself. And therefore he straightway adds, *This is Lord of all*, but the Word is such. *And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar and offer thy sin-offering, and thy burnt-offering, and make an atonement for thyself and for the people; and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them, as the Lord commanded Moses.* See now here, though Moses be one, Moses himself speaks as if about another Moses, *as the Lord commanded Moses.* In like manner then, if the blessed Peter speak of the Divine Word also, as sent to the children of Israel by Jesus Christ, it is not necessary to understand that the Word is one and Christ another, but that they were one and the same by reason of the uniting[1] which took place in His divine and loving condescension and incarnation.

1 Cor. 1, 7. 8.

§. 31.

Lev. 9, 7.

[1] Ἕνωσιν τὴν πρὸς ἑνότητα.

8. And if even He be considered in two ways[2], still it is without any division of the Word, as when the inspired John says, *And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us.* What then is said in a suitable and orthodox way[3] by the blessed Peter, the Samosatenes, understanding badly and wrongly, stand not in the truth. For Christ is understood in both ways in Divine Scripture, as when it says Christ *God's power and God's wisdom.* If then Peter says that the Word was sent through Jesus Christ unto the children of Israel, let him be understood to mean, that the Word incarnate has appeared to the children of Israel, so that it may correspond to *And the Word became flesh.* But if they understand it otherwise, and, while confessing the Word to be divine, as He is, separate from Him the Man that He has taken, with which

[2] p. 440, §. 29. init.

John 1, 14.

[3] p. 341, note i.

1 Cor. 1, 24.

[g] Paul of Samosata had argued in the same way against the divinity of Christ. Routh Relliqu. t. 2. p. 475. and Eusebius imputes it to Marcellus pp. 55, a. 78, c. The passage that follows is a remarkable one, as shewing the historical connection between Samosatenes and Nestorians at Antioch. Diodorus and Theodore fill up the interval between Athanasius and Nestorius.

also we believe that He is made one, saying that He has been sent through Jesus Christ, they are, without knowing[1] it, contradicting themselves. For those who in this place separate the divine Word[2] from the divine incarnation, have, it seems, a degraded notion of the doctrine of His having become flesh, and entertain Gentile thoughts, as they do, conceiving that the divine incarnation is an alteration[3] of the Word. But it is not so; perish the thought. For in the same way that John here preaches that incomprehensible oneness, *the mortal being swallowed up of life*, nay, of Him who is Very Life, (as the Lord said to Martha, *I am the Life*,) so when the blessed Peter says that through Jesus Christ the Word was sent, he implies the divine oneness also. For as when a man heard *The Word became flesh*, he would not think that the Word ceased to be, which is extravagant, as has been said before, so also hearing of the Word which has been united to the flesh, let him understand the divine mystery one and simple. SUBJ. IX. §. 32.

9. More clearly however and indisputably than all reasoning, does what was said by the Archangel to the Mother of God[4] herself, shew the oneness of the Divine Word and Man. For he says, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.* Irrationally then do the Samosatenes separate the Word who is clearly declared to be made one with the Man from Mary. He is not therefore sent through that Man; but He rather in Him sent, saying, *Go ye, teach all nations.*

10. And this is usual with Scripture[5], to express itself in inartificial and simple phrases. For so also in Numbers we shall find, Moses said to Raguel the Midianite, the father-in-law of Moses; for there was not one Moses who spoke, and another whose father-in-law was Raguel, but Moses was one. And if in like manner the Word of God is called Wisdom and Power and Right-Hand and Arm and the like, and if in His love to man He has become one with us, putting on our first-fruits and blended[h] with it, therefore the §. 33.

[1] νοοῦντες vid. r. 2.

[2] θεὸν νοοῦσιν l. θεὸν λόγον vid. p. 552, r. 6.

[3] τροπήν. 2 Cor. 5, 4.

[4] θεοτόκος Luke 1, 35.

[5] p. 355, note c.

[h] ἀνακρᾶσις. vid. note on Tertull. O. Tr. vol. i. p. 48. and so ἡ κατὰ μίξιν, διὰ καὶ ἄσυγχυτος. Greg. Naz. as quoted by Eulogius ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 857. immixtus Cassian. Incarn. i. 5. commixtio Vigil. contr. Eutych. i. p. 494. (B. P. 1624.) permixtus August. Ep. 137, 11. ut naturæ alteri altera

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other titles also have, as was natural, become the Word's portions. For that John has said, that in the beginning was the Word, and He with God and Himself God, and all things through Him, and without Him nothing made, shews clearly that even man is the formation of God the Word. If then after taking him, when corrupted[1], into Himself[1], He renews here again through that sure renewal for our endless abidance[2], and therefore is made one with him in order to raise him to a diviner lot, how can we possibly say that the Word was sent through the Man who was from Mary, and reckon Him, the Lord of Apostles, with other Apostles, I mean such as prophets who were sent[3] by Him! And how can Christ be called a mere[4] man? on the contrary, being made one with the Word, He is with reason called Christ and Son of God, the prophet having long since loudly and clearly ascribed the Father's subsistence[5] to Him, and said, *And I will send My Son Christ;* and in the Jordan, *This is My Well-beloved Son.* For when He had fulfilled His promise, He shewed, as was suitable, that He was He whom He said He had sent.

[1] p. 375, note u.

[2] διαμονήν, p. 521, note a.

[3] ἀποστολικοῖς

[4] ψιλὸς

[5] ὑπόστασιν vid. Acts 3, 20.

§. 34. 11. Let us then consider[6] Christ in both ways[k], the divine Word made one in Mary with That which is from Mary. For in her womb the Word fashioned for Himself His house, as at the beginning He formed Adam from the earth; or rather more divinely, concerning whom Solomon too says openly, knowing that the Word was also called Wisdom, *Wisdom hath builded Herself an house;* which the Apostle interprets when he says, *Which house are we*, and elsewhere calls us a temple, as far as it is fitting to God to inhabit a temple, of which the image, made of stones, He by Solomon commanded the ancient people to build[7]; whence, on the appearance of the Truth,

Prov. 9, 1.

Heb. 3, 6.

[6] νοῶμεν λόγ. τὸν θεῖον, vid. p. 551, r. 2.

[7] κτίζειν

misceretur. Leon. Serm. 23, 1. There is this strong passage in Naz. Ep. 101. p. 87, c. (ed. 1840.) κιρναμένων ὥσπερ τῶν φύσεων. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τῶν κλήσεων. καὶ περιχωρουσῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συμφυΐας; Bull says that in using περιχωρουσῶν, Greg. Naz. and others "minùs propriè loqui." Defens. F. N. iv. 4. §. 14. Petavius had allowed this, but proves the doctrine amply from the Fathers. de Incarn. iv. 14. Such oneness is not "confusion," for οὐ σύγχυσιν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰ δύο κεράσας εἰς ἕν, says Epiph. Ancor. 81 fin. and so Phot. Bibl. p. 831 fin. οὐ τῆς κράσεως σύγχυσιν αὐτῷ δηλούσης. Vid. also on the word μίξις, &c. Zacagn. Monum. p. xxi—xxvi. Thomassin. de Incarn. iii. 5. iv. 15.

[i] εἰς ἑαυτὸν λαβόμενος. And so the Creed ascribed to Athan. speaks of "the taking of the manhood into God."

[k] τὸ συναμφότερον νοῶμεν Χριστόν. This seems a reference to the εἰ δὲ καὶ νοεῖτο διχῶς §. 31. at the commencement of n. 8. vid. end of sect.

the Image ceased. For when the ruthless men wished to prove the Image to be the Truth, and to destroy that true habitation which we surely believe His union with us to be, He threatened them not; but knowing that their crime was against themselves, He says to them, *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up;* He, our Saviour, surely shewing thereby that the things about which men busy themselves, carry their dissolution with them. For unless the Lord build the house and keep the city, in vain the builders toil, and the keepers watch. And so the works of the Jews are undone, for they were a shadow; but the Church is firmly established; it is *founded on the rock*, and *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* Theirs[1] it was to say, *Why dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God*[2]*?* and their[3] disciple is the Samosatene; whence to his followers with reason does he teach his heresy. But *we have not so learned Christ, if so be that we have heard* Him, and have learned from Him, *putting off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts*, and taking up *the new, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.* Let Christ then in both ways be religiously considered[4].

Subj. IX.

John 2, 19.

vid. Ps. 127, 1.

vid. Matt. 7, 25.

[1] ἐκεῖνον John 10, 16, 18.

[2] pp. 2, 33.

[3] τοῦτον. Eph. 4, 20—24.

[4] τοῦτον, p. 552, r. 6.

12. But if Scripture often calls even the body by the name of Christ, as in the blessed Peter's words to Cornelius, when he teaches him of *Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost*, and again to the Jews, *Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God for you*, and again the blessed Paul to the Athenians, *By that Man, whom He hath ordained, giving assurance to all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead*, (for we find the appointment and the mission[5] often synonymous with the anointing; from which any one who will may learn, that there is no discordance in the words of the sacred writers[6], but that they but give various names to the union of God the Word with the Man from Mary, sometimes as anointing, sometimes as mission, sometimes as appointment,) it follows that what the blessed Peter says is orthodox[7], and he proclaims in purity[8] the Godhead of the Only-begotten, without separating the subsistence[9] of God the Word from the Man from Mary, (perish the thought! for how should he, who had heard in so many ways, *I and the Father are one*, and *He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father?*) In which Man[10], after

§. 35.

Acts 10, 38.

2, 22.

17, 31.

[5] ἀποστολήν

[6] passim vid. p. 338, r. 6. Hist. Tr. p. 198, r. 2.

[7] p. 341, note i.

[8] εἰλικρινῶς. τὴν τοῦ θεότητα

[9] ὑπόστασιν

[10] John 10, 30. 14, 9. δι' οὗ

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the resurrection also[1], when the doors were shut, we know[2] of His coming to each pair[3] of Apostles, and dispersing all that was hard to believe in it by His words, *Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have.* And He did not say, "This," or "this Man which I have taken to Me," but *Me*. Wherefore Samosatene will gain no allowance, being refuted by so many arguments for the union of God the Word, nay by God the Word Himself, who now brings the news to all, and assures[4] them by eating, and permitting to them that handling of Him which then took place. For certainly he who gives food to others, and they who give him, touch hands. For *they gave Him*, Scripture says, *a piece of a broiled fish and of an honey-comb, and* when He had *eaten before them, He took the remains and gave to them.* See now, though not as Thomas was allowed, yet by another way, He afforded to them full assurance, in being touched by them; but if you would now see the scars, learn from Thomas. *Reach hither thy hand and thrust it into My side, and reach hither thy finger and behold My hands*; so says God the Word, speaking of His own[5] side and hands, and of Himself as whole man and God together, first affording[6] to the Saints[7] even perception of the Word through the body, as we may consider, by entering when the doors were shut; and next standing near them in the body and affording full assurance.

[1] τὸ αὐτὸ
[2] verb. omit.
[3] f. τὴν abund.
Luke 24, 39.
[4] πληροφορῶν f. οὖντος
Luke 24, 42. 43. vid. Wetstein in loc.
John 20, 27.
[5] p. 447, note t.
[6] παρέχοντος f. παρέχων
[7] ἁγίοις, sacred writers, vid. 1 John 1, 1.

13. So much may be conveniently said for confirmation of the faithful, and correction of the unbelieving. And so let §. 36. Paul of Samosata also[8] stand corrected on hearing the divine voice of Him who said *My body*, not "Christ besides Me who am the Word," but "It[9] with Me, and Me with It." For I the Word am the chrism, and that which has the chrism from Me is the Man[10]; not then without Me could It[11] be called Christ, but being with Me and I in It. Therefore the mention of the mission of the Word shews the uniting which took place with Jesus of Mary, which is interpreted Saviour, not by reason of any thing else, but the Man's being made one with God the Word. This passage has the same meaning as *the Father that sent Me*, and *I came not of Myself, but the Father sent Me.* For he has given the name of mission[12] to the uniting with the Man, with which[13] the Invisible nature might be

[8] καὶ
[9] i. e. τὸν Χριστὸν
[10] p. 248, note b.
[11] i. e. ὁ ἄνθρωπος
[12] vid. parenthesis p. 553. John 8, 10. 42.
[13] σὺν ᾧ

known to men, through the visible. For God changes not place, like us who are hidden in places, when in the fashion of our littleness He displayed Himself in His existence in the flesh; for how should He, who fills the heaven and the earth? but on account of the presence in the flesh the just have spoken of His mission. SUBJ. IX.

14. Therefore God the Word Himself is Christ[1] from Mary, God and Man; not some other Christ but One and the Same; He before ages from the Father, He too in the last times from the Virgin; invisible[2] before even to the holy powers of heaven, visible now because of His being one with the Man who is visible; seen, I say, not in His invisible Godhead but in the operation[3] of the Godhead through the human body and whole man, which He has renewed by appropriation to Himself. To Him be the adoration and the worship, who was before, and now is, and ever shall be, even to all ages. Amen.

[1] οὐ abund.

[2] p. 120, note q.

[3] ἐνεργεία, vid. p. 544.

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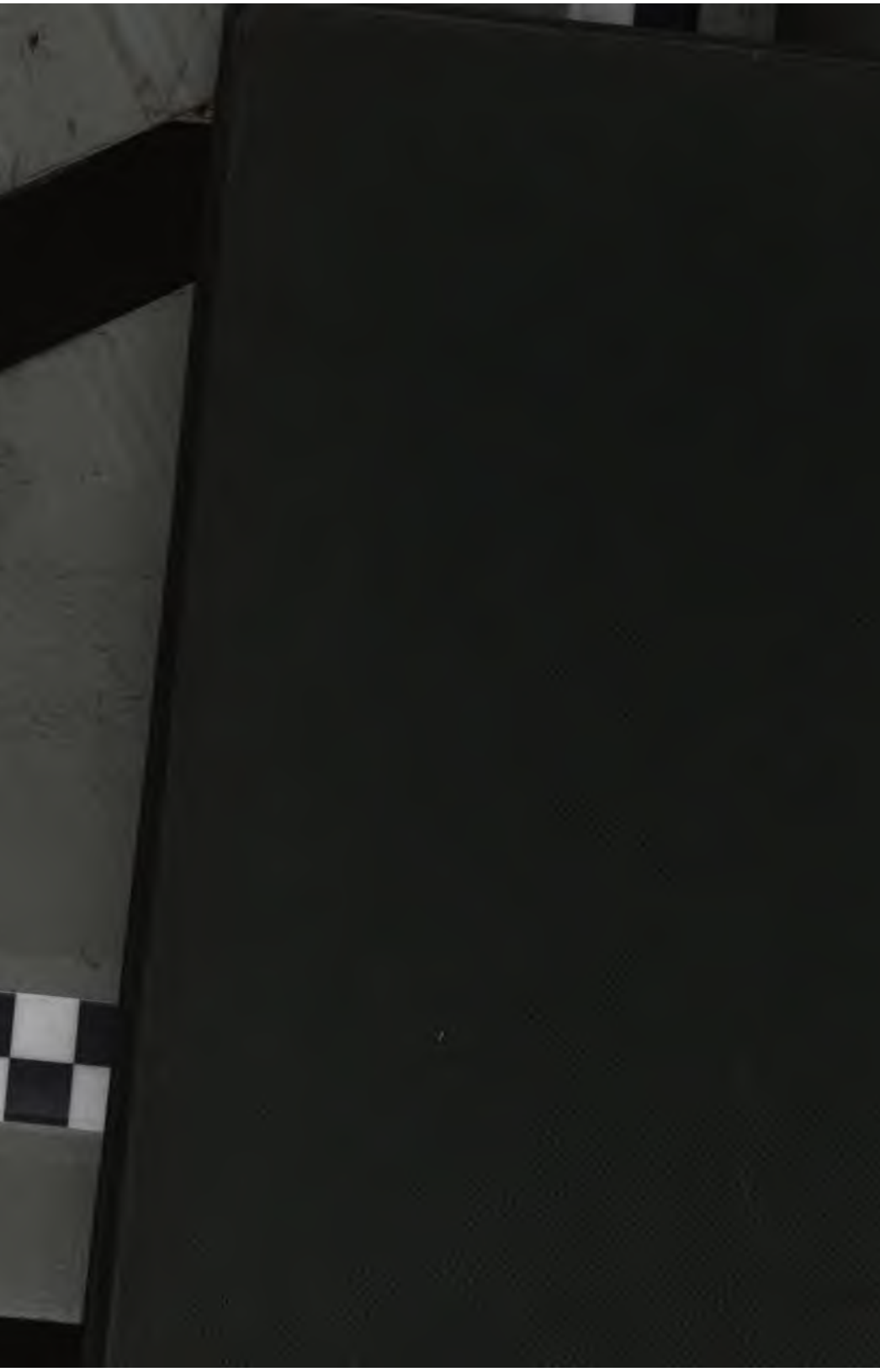
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